

BARGALA: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

BLAGA ALEKSOVA and CYRIL MANGO

IN 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 the Archaeological Museum of Skopje in co-operation with the National Museum of Štip carried out excavations on a site known as Goren Kozjak, 10.5 km. (linear distance) northeast of Štip in eastern Macedonia, as well as investigations in the valley of the Bregalnica river.¹ This work was continued in the summer of 1970 by a joint Yugoslav-American expedition, the funds being provided by the Smithsonian Institution's Foreign Currency Program.² In order to place in their proper context the findings made by us in 1970, we shall begin with a short account of the geography and history of the area, and include in our exposition a summary description of discoveries made prior to 1970 which have been reported largely in Yugoslav publications.³

¹ The work was conducted by B. Aleksova with the assistance of V. Dautovska, G. Spasovska, V. Sanev, Z. Nikolovska, N. Dimčeva, A. Arnautov, S. Apostolski, V. Ilijovski, G. Georgijev, and D. Černjakov.

² The Yugoslav members of the staff were B. Aleksova, Z. Nikolovska, R. Pašić, M. Čorčan (architect), V. Jankov (surveyor), and D. Černjakov (photographer); making up the American team were C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, A. H. S. Megaw; R. Anderson (architect), S. Boyd, D. Chodoff, L. Drewer, and J. Rosser (trench supervisors).

³ B. Aleksova, "Bargala-Bregalnica vo svetlinata na novite arheološki istraživanja," *Glasnik Inst. Nac. Istorija*, 3 (Skopje, 1967), 5-50; *idem*, "Pridones od istraživanjata vo Bargala-Bregalnica za osvetluvanjeto na istorijata na Južnite Sloveni," *Posebna izdanja*, XII, Centar za Balkanološka ispitivanja, 4 (Sarajevo, 1969), 105-14; *idem*, "Pridones od istraživanjata vo Bargala-Bregalnica za osvetluvanjeto na istorijata na Slovenite vo Makedonija," *Simpozium 1100-godišnina od smrtta na Kiril Solunski*, I (Skopje, 1970), 13-21; *idem*, "Das episkopische Centrum Bargala," *Acts of the Second International Congress of Balkan Studies* (Athens, 1970); *idem*, "Novi rezultati od iskopuvanjata vo Bargala," *Istorija*, 2 (1970).

The Bregalnica river, an eastern tributary of the Vardar, runs in its middle course through the valley of Kočani which is about forty kilometers long. To the northwest of it lies Ovče Pole, an open plain traversed by roads running both in a north-south and in an east-west direction (fold-out map 1).⁴ To the southeast is a mountain range called Plačkovica which forms a number of parallel spurs divided by valleys. Goren Kozjak (Upper Kozjak), also known to the local population as Gradot (the City), is situated in one of these secondary valleys, next to a stream, the Kozjačka Reka, which flows into the Bregalnica (fold-out map 2). Dominated by a higher mountain on which are the remains of a fort known as Kulata,⁵ Goren Kozjak occupies a hill that rises about thirty meters above the level of the adjacent stream. Round it are the following villages: Dolen Kozjak (Lower Kozjak), Tarinci, Karbinci, Argulica, Crvulevo, and Radanje. Until World War I Goren Kozjak was the property of a Turkish landowner, Izzet bey, who had a residence there as well as a number of mills round the village. After the First War the land was acquired by the villagers of Radanje who cleared it for cultivation and pulled down the Turkish buildings.

The supposition that Goren Kozjak occupies the site of Bargala, an episcopal town documented in the fifth and sixth centuries, rests on the following considerations. During World War II a Latin inscription of the year 371/2 (fig. 2) was discovered at a place called Hanče, close to Dolen Kozjak.⁶ This is now in the Skopje Archaeological Museum and reads as follows:

⁴ Cf. J. Cvijić, *Osnovi za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije*, I (Belgrade, 1906), 228f.

⁵ Aleksova, "Bargala-Bregalnica," 23.

⁶ I. Venedikov, "Bargala," National Bulgarian Museum, *Razkopki i proučvanija*, 1 (1948), 84ff. Venedikov shows convincingly that the name Bargala was of Thracian origin.

[An]no VII dominorum nostrorum victoriosissimorum
 triumfatorum semper augustorum
 Valentiniani et Valentis Bargalen-
 [si]bus porta constructa est disponen-
 [te A]ntonio Alypio v(iro) c(larissimo) con-
 s(ulari) provinc(iae) D(aciae) Mediter-
 raneae.

There is no evidence that the inscription was found *in situ*, nor is it likely that Bargala was at Hanče, although there exist at that spot the ruins of a large rectangular building and, close by, five mound burials known to the local population as Beš Tepe (Turkish for "five hills").⁷ It is more probable that the Bargala of the fourth century was at Dolen Kozjak, where floor mosaics and other remains of the late Roman period have occasionally come to light. Furthermore, on a hill called Bandera, overlooking Dolen Kozjak, there was a sanctuary of Zeus, where a number of small votive reliefs have been discovered.⁸

The construction of a gate in 371/2 is in keeping with the known policy of Valentinian and Valens to restore roads and fortifications, especially along the *limes*.⁹ In the next century the threat of barbarian invasion became more acute in Macedonia, and it may be suggested that Bargala was relocated to a more defensible position, namely from Dolen Kozjak to Goren Kozjak. On the latter site, as we shall see presently, there is an impressive fortified enclosure as well as an episcopal basilica. Furthermore, none of the finds made at Goren Kozjak until now (except for a few stray pieces that could easily have been brought from elsewhere) appear to antedate the fifth century. Just when the relocation took place we cannot determine, but we should remember that Stobi was sacked by Theodoric in 479.¹⁰

We now come to the few literary data at

⁷ *Ibid.*, 88 ff.

⁸ These are now at the National Museum of Štip and record several curious local names, such as Moukas, Moukianos, Dizas, etc. A coin of Constantine I is said to have been found at the same spot.

⁹ Cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I (Brussels, 1959), 181.

¹⁰ Cf. B. Saria, art. "Stobi," Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Zweite Reihe, IV (1932), col. 50.

our disposal. Among the participants of the Council of Chalcedon (451) there appears a Dardanius, bishop of Bargala (Βαργάλων), who signs his name immediately after that of Nicholas, bishop of Stobi,¹¹ and who is listed among the bishops of the province of Macedonia I.¹² In the *Synecdemos* of Hierocles (probably compiled in 527/8, but based in part on a source of the second half of the fifth century) Bargala is listed as belonging to the province of Macedonia II,¹³ which seems to have been created toward the end of the fifth century¹⁴ and whose capital was Stobi. This is the last we hear of Bargala under its ancient name: it is not mentioned among the places fortified or embellished by Justinian enumerated in Procopius' *De aedificiis* (ca. 553–55) or in any later Byzantine text except the *De thematibus* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but that is of no significance since the relevant passage was simply excerpted from Hierocles.¹⁵ We should also mention here the terrible earthquake of 518 which destroyed Skopje (Scupus) and twenty-four *castella* in the province of Dardania.¹⁶ Bargala is not named in this connection, but it may well have been affected by the earthquake.

With the settlement of the Slavs in this area, the name Bargala appears to have been transferred to the river Bregalnica.¹⁷ In the

¹¹ *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, II.1.1, p. 64, No. 326; II.1.2, p. 77, No. 289; p. 91, No. 288; p. 137, No. 307; p. 150, No. 320 (where the name is distorted to Παργάων). Cf. E. Schwartz, *Über die Bischofslisten der Synoden von Chalkedon, Nicaea und Konstantinopel*, Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philos.-hist. Abt., N. F., 13 (1937), 39.

¹² *ACO*, II.1.2, p. 102.

¹³ Ed. E. Honigsmann, *Le Synecdèmos d'Hierocles* (Brussels, 1939), 641.6.

¹⁴ The exact boundaries in the fourth-sixth centuries between the provinces of Dacia Mediterranea, Macedonia I and II, and Macedonia Salutaris (which had a very brief existence and was not identical with Macedonia II) pose complex problems. See F. Papazoglou, "La Macédoine Salutaire et la Macédoine Seconde," Académie Royale de Belgique, *Bull. de la Cl. des Lettres*, 5th Ser., 42 (1956), 115–24; *idem*, *Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba* (Skopje, 1957), 87 ff. For Bargala, see *ibid.*, 245–46.

¹⁵ Ed. A. Pertusi (Vatican City, 1952), 88.

¹⁶ Marcellinus Comes, *MGH, Auct. ant.*, XI (1894), 100.

¹⁷ J. Ivanov, *Severna Makedonija* (Sofia, 1906), 73 ff.

ninth century this territory was under Bulgarian occupation. Theophylact archbishop of Ohrid (d. ca. 1108) reports that Boris/Michael, the first Christian king of Bulgaria (852–89) ordered that a church in honor of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis (Strumica) be built “in the bishopric of Bregalnica” (ἐν τῇ τῆς Βραγαλνίτζης ἐπισκοπῇ) and their relics deposited in it. The task was entrusted to a nobleman called Taridenas who, thanks to a large labor force, completed it speedily. A further consignment of relics was conveyed from Strumica to Bregalnica under the Tsar Symeon (893–927).¹⁸ Unfortunately, Theophylact does not tell us where the bishopric of Bregalnica was located, although we may suppose that it was in the proximity of ancient Bargala. There also exists a legendary account, probably of the twelfth century, to the effect that St. Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs, even before proceeding to Moravia, converted the people of Bregalnica to Christianity and gave them books in Slavonic.¹⁹ The very existence of such a legend points to the importance of the Bregalnica area in connection with early missionary activity among the Slavs.

Byzantine control of the area was re-established by the Emperor John I Tzimiskes in 971 and, more permanently, by Basil II at the beginning of the eleventh century. In the ensuing ecclesiastical reorganization of the country no bishopric of Bregalnica was set up: its place was taken by the bishopric of Morozvzd. The relevant text (A.D. 1019) is worth quoting: Καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Μοροβίσδου εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Μορόβισδον καὶ τὸν Κοζιάκον [Kozjak] καὶ τὴν Σλαβίστην [Slavište] καὶ

τὴν Σηλετοβάν [Zletovo] καὶ τὸν Λουκόβιττον [Lukovica] καὶ τὴν Πιάνιτζαν [Pijanec] καὶ τὴν Μαλέσοβαν [Maleševo] κληρικούς ἐξ καὶ παροίκους ἐξ.²⁰ Kozjak had finally replaced Bargala.

We come now to a description of the site and the discoveries made on it. The fortified enclosure (fig. 1) describes a trapezoid space 280 m. long and from 150 to 185 m. wide (thus enclosing 4.68 hectares). The walls, stretches of which are visible on all four sides, are 2.20 m. thick and are built of roughly-coursed rubble held together with white mortar. At each of the four corners of the *castrum* there was a square tower the walls of which were only 1.00 to 1.25 m. thick. Three of these towers are now partially exposed. Further towers were placed at intervals along the north and south sides of the fortification. In 1970 two long trenches were dug across the line of the walls, one near the northeast corner the other in the middle of the west side. The former area evidently represented a vulnerable point in the defenses of the city, and here we found that in addition to the masonry wall (preserved to a height of 2.60 m.) there was an artificial earth bank at a distance of 20 m. outside the wall. The line of this bank is still clearly discernible in the configuration of the ground (fig. 3). Just inside the city wall, after removing the topsoil and a layer of fallen rubble, we struck a stratum of brown earth containing a mass of roof-tile and pottery fragments (mostly storage pots), traces of cinders and charred wood, and two bronze coins, one of Justin I, the other of Justin II.²¹

On the west side of the city we were fortunate in finding a monumental double gate forming a right angle projection from the line of the wall. About half of its width was excavated in 1970 (fig. 4). This may well have been the principal gate, since it faces in the

¹⁸ *Historia martyrii XV martyrum*, PG, 126, cols. 201 ff., 213. This is the only mention of the bishopric of Bregalnica. The time of its institution and disappearance has been much discussed. See D. Koco, “Prilog kon proučavanjeto na Bregalničkata episkopija,” *Zbornik Svetozara Radojčića* (Belgrade, 1969), 155–62.

¹⁹ P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vznikenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (Leningrad, 1930), 155, 159. The historicity of St. Cyril's activity in the Bregalnica region is rejected by the majority of historians, but is defended by E. Georgiev, “Rodinata na Kirilo-Metodievoto delo,” in *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof* (Sofia, 1969), 31–44. V. Jagić, *Archiv für slav. Philologie*, 4 (1880), 118, thought that St. Clement was active in the area of the Bregalnica.

²⁰ H. Gelzer, “Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse,” *BZ*, 2 (1893), 43 and commentary on p. 51 f.; J. Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija*, 2nd ed. (Sofia, 1931), 552.

²¹ Both 20 nummia pieces. The coin of Justin I: A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection...*, I (Washington, D.C., 1966), p. 42, No. 14c. The coin of Justin II is from the mint of Thessalonica of the year 569/70: *ibid.*, p. 221, No. 66.1.

direction of T. Veles and Skopje. It was spanned by a brick arch of three voussoir rings which we found where it fell (fig. 5). We also uncovered the north doorjamb of the outer gate and next to it a dowel hole in which the door rotated. Directly above the original street level was a thick layer of charcoal indicating a conflagration of some magnitude. Among the finds made in this trench was a handsome rectangular post decorated with crosses on two sides. On one side the cross surmounts a spirally fluted Ionic column (fig. 6); on the other it has a band of chevron ornament both above it and below it (fig. 7). This post has lateral grooves for the insertion of parapet slabs and may have belonged to a church: it probably has no connection with the city gate.²²

In the northwest corner of the site a residential complex abutting on the city wall was excavated in 1967/8. Three adjoining rooms have been cleared (fig. 8). They had an open porch with columns and parapet slabs as well as a stone bench. The middle room has three pithoi sunk in the ground. This complex, which appears to have been vaulted and may have been of two storeys, shows two periods of occupancy. In the second period the door connecting the central room with the northern one was blocked up with a wall made of thin uneven bricks (fig. 9).

We now come to the basilica complex which was excavated in 1966–69 and constitutes at present the most impressive feature of the site (figs. 10, 11). The basilica itself has three aisles, a semicircular apse, inner narthex, and open outer narthex. It was approached by a flight of six steps from the direction of the West Gate. The west façade probably presented a triple opening separated by two columns whose bases were found *in situ*. They were surmounted by Ionic capitals and separate impost blocks (figs. 12–14).²³ One of the two capitals (fig. 12) bears the inscription:

[Χρισ]τε βοηθι τω δουλου
[σου] Ερμια επισκοπω +

²² Outside the west gate one may observe the contours of an ancient building, possibly a church. The post may have come from it.

²³ The column shafts had a lower diameter of 0.46 m. and an upper diameter of 0.425. The inscribed capital measures 0.59 x 0.42, the uninscribed one 0.62 x 0.40. Both are 0.25 high.

“Christ, help Thy slave, the bishop Hermias.”

In view of the fact that this inscription was placed on the façade of the building, it may be conjectured that Hermias was the founder of the basilica.

The open porch communicated with the inner narthex by means of five doors, two of which (the central and the northernmost) were blocked up at a later period. The inner narthex has three doors leading into the nave and aisles, respectively. The floor of the basilica slopes down perceptibly from east to west (by as much as 0.70 m.) and there is considerable unevenness in the floor of the south aisle, probably due to insufficient foundations. The north aisle, i.e., the one reserved for women, is paved with coarse mosaic consisting of chips of marble laid so as to represent crosses and various geometric shapes (figs. 16, 17). The base of a marble ambo was found to the south of the longitudinal axis. The flight of steps leading up to the ambo was on its west side—an unusual feature.

Two rows of seven columns each separated the nave from the aisles. All but one of their bases remain *in situ*, and each has the usual dowel hole and channel running from the center to the circumference. The intercolumniations were closed off by means of parapet slabs placed in pairs, each pair being connected by a square post. The parapets and posts were embedded in massive, if somewhat irregular, foundation blocks placed between the column bases. The congregation was thus fenced in: men in the south aisle, women in the north aisle. The position of the ambo indicates that the lections and sermons were addressed more to the men than to the women.

A great quantity of carved material was found scattered throughout the basilica and its dependencies, namely column shafts, capitals, cornice blocks, parapet slabs, window mullions, stone grilles, etc. An examination of this material leads to the conclusion that the basilica must have had a gallery, although it is not yet clear by what means access to it was provided. The existence of a gallery is indicated by the discovery in sufficient numbers of column shafts of two different sizes²⁴ and of two types of capitals. The larger shafts had a height of 2.60 m. (there is one complete

²⁴ Setting aside a few fragments of yet smaller shafts having a diameter of 0.24 m.

specimen), a lower diameter of about 0.37–0.38, and an upper diameter of about 0.35–0.36. This accords well with the bases of the colonnades at ground level which give a lower shaft diameter of anywhere between 0.36 and 0.40 m. The capitals of the lower order²⁵ (figs. 18, 19) are of the Ionic impost type and, though crudely carved, show considerable variation of ornament consisting of crosses, acanthus leaves, and a cantharus out of which grows a grape vine. These capitals allow for an upper shaft diameter of 0.36–0.38 m., and they have a height, counting from the top of the shaft, of 0.26–0.28. The top measurements are 0.36–0.38 x 0.60–0.64.²⁶ Now, it may be observed that there are neither dowels nor dowel holes on the top or the bottom side of the capitals, just as there are none at the top of the shafts. The reasons for this are: a) that the volutes provided a sufficiently tight collar for the top of the shaft so as to make further attachment unnecessary; b) that the capitals must have been connected not by a flat entablature, but by brick arches. The capitals of the second series which we attribute to the gallery (fig. 20), are of the impost type, are decorated with crosses within circular medallions, and have a circular collar with a crude egg-and-dart design.²⁷

They have the following dimensions:

shaft diameter	0.31–32
height of capital	0.25
top measurements	0.38–0.41 x 0.63–0.66. ²⁸

Some eighteen shaft fragments,²⁹ which have a lower diameter of about 0.35 m. and an upper diameter of 0.30–0.32, fit the second series of capitals. They had a metal pin at the bottom, but show no sign of attachment at the top. A few fragmentary bases which correspond to the size of the smaller shafts³⁰ have

also been discovered. Now, the series B capitals (as we shall call them) have on their top side a sharp iron pin embedded in lead, but have neither pin nor hole on their bottom side. From this it may be deduced that: a) The attachment of the shafts to the capitals, possibly by means of a layer of mortar, was fairly insecure; b) The gallery capitals were connected not by brick arches, as in the lower order, but by a horizontal entablature, probably of wood.³¹

Several fragments of cornice blocks have also come to light (figs. 15, 21, 22). These probably pertained to the antae of the colonnades. The largest of these blocks was a corner piece and is carved on two sides: on one side it has acanthus leaves within a kind of arcade (fig. 22); on the other a cross flanked by birds, with a grape vine sprouting out of it (fig. 21).

The area of the bema was subjected to careful investigation in 1970 and has revealed at least two successive stages (figs. 23, 24).³² We shall begin with stage 2, which is the one more clearly visible today. The area of the bema occupies the full width of the nave. Its west boundary is marked by a line of massive foundation blocks having a channel for the insertion of the parapet slabs. The entrance forms a westward projection and probably had a pair of little columns supporting an arch. The pavement of the bema, preserved mostly along the edges, has an ornamental surround consisting of diamonds of white marble and little triangular slabs of a slate color. Within this surround one can make out a transverse panel, originally decorated with a diaper pattern, which occupied the space in front of the altar table. The table itself (probably resting on five legs) was, however, bordered on the floor by plain square slabs, two of which remain *in situ*: these form a strange contrast to the rather more elegant character of the rest of the pavement and may be due to a later

insertion of parapet slabs. Since all are fragmentary, the diameter of the shaft cannot be accurately calculated.

³¹ This is an unusual arrangement, but cf. the Katapoliani of Paros: A. K. Orlandos, 'Η φυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική, II (Athens, 1954), 384, and fig. 348.

³² A major part of this investigation was conducted by Mr. A. H. S. Megaw. It was completed by Dr. Aleksova after Mr. Megaw's departure.

²⁵ Three good specimens have been found.
²⁶ The total height of base (0.35), shaft (2.60), and capital (0.27) averaged 3.22 m.

²⁷ Two reasonably complete and five fragmentary specimens have been found.

²⁸ Roughly equivalent to the corresponding measurements of the lower order.

²⁹ We cannot determine the exact height of these shafts since no complete specimen has been found.

³⁰ They have plinths 0.395 m. square, are 0.25 m. high, and have a dowel hole at the top. They also show lateral indentations for the

repair. In the southwest corner of the bema area we found a little trough connected to a drain of earthenware pipes that ran under the floor of the south aisle (fig. 25). This must have been the so-called *thalassa*, into which the water used for the ablution of the clergy and of the altar table was poured.³³ The apse, which is raised one step above the bema, has lost all of its original pavement. It seems to have had a semicircular synthronon of which only one block,³⁴ the last one on the south side, remains.

The excavation of the apse and all the portions of the bema where stage 2 pavement has not survived *in situ* revealed the following information. In the apse we found a Π-shaped wall which was plastered and frescoed³⁵ on its west face, but had no proper face toward the east. This wall, which now stands to a height of only 0.15 m., appears to represent the bottom part of a flight of stairs leading up to an elevated platform upon which the bishop's throne was placed—a fairly uncommon arrangement. In stage 2 this platform was cut down, a continuous step constructed along the chord of the apse, and the intervening space filled up with boulders and earth. The original altar table stood further to the east than that of stage 2 and was supported on five legs (fig. 26). On either side of it, i.e., in the northeast and southeast corners of the bema area respectively, there appears to have been a seat that would have accommodated one member of the clergy only.³⁶

The mortar bedding of the stage 1 pavement of the bema has survived in excellent condition and shows the impressions left upon it by the marble slabs. In front of the altar table there was a large panel of diaper pattern bordered, first, by a band of diamond design

and, on the outer periphery, by a band of plain slabs. Underneath the mortar bedding there is yet another level of flat, but irregularly shaped, stones set in mortar; this we interpret as the foundation of the stage 1 floor. A considerable number of gold and colored mosaic tesserae was found in the course of this investigation, thus indicating that the apse, and, perhaps, the triumphal arch were decorated with wall mosaics.

The original area of the bema appears to have been smaller than that of stage 2: it did not extend so far to the west and was also shorter on both the north and south sides, i.e., it was not coterminous with the main colonnades. It would be tempting to suppose that the remodelling of the bema was connected with some catastrophe, such as the earthquake of 518; yet the excellently preserved plaster bedding of the first pavement shows no trace of earthquake damage or other form of violent destruction. For the present, we must content ourselves with the suggestion that the original arrangements did not conform to changing liturgical requirements and were, therefore, altered according to a newer or more convenient formula. The suppression of the Π-shaped platform and the construction of a continuous step on the chord of the apse necessitated the displacement of the altar table farther to the west, and this in turn required a slight expansion of the bema area. The seats on either side of the altar table were removed since the new semicircular synthronon provided ample space for the clergy. The marble slabs of the first pavement were reused in the second.

Attached to the north side of the basilica are four contiguous structures, namely (from east to west), a baptistery, the vestibule of the baptistery, a hall, and a room for the offerings of the congregation. The baptistery is of cruciform plan with a narthex, and was built later than the basilica, though probably not much later. Its apse is semicircular on the inside and three-sided on the outside. In the center of the baptistery stands the font (fig. 27), which is also cruciform, each arm of the cross having, however, a semicircular niche hollowed out of it. The font is built of brick and was revetted, both inside and out, with upright marble slabs, alternately white and red. Water was supplied by a conduit running

³³ See D. I. Pallas, 'Η 'Θάλασσα' τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (Athens, 1952), 41 ff.

³⁴ We imagine that this was originally covered with marble slabs.

³⁵ The fresco consists of wavy lines imitating veined marble and extends underneath the bedding of stage 1 floor down to the stone foundation.

³⁶ As such, the arrangement is not unusual. Normally, however, the seats to the north and south of the altar table were meant to accommodate several members of the clergy (cf. the episcopal basilica of Stobi).

under the pavement on the north side of the font, and it drained out on the west side. Access to the baptistery was provided by two western doors, presumably to facilitate circulation.

The vestibule of the baptistery is a rectangular room, also provided with two doors on its west side and having a fragmentary mosaic floor with floral and animal ornaments. Next comes a hallway (fig. 28) which provided communication with the baptistery complex, the narthex, the offerings room, and the outside. The pavement is of brick, laid diagonally except for the longitudinal and transverse axes of the room which form a cross. In the center four triangular stone slabs have been set together so as to make a diamond.

The last room, the diaconicon,³⁷ has lost its original pavement. In its southwest corner, however, is a rectangular brick foundation which corresponds in size to a stone *mensa* with raised rim, visible in fig. 28.

A great number of stray finds have been made in the basilica complex. Without attempting a complete inventory, we should like to mention some of the more important. First comes a series of bricks upon which various designs were scratched before they were fired. The bricks are rectangular and measure about 0.36 x 0.27 x 0.04. The most interesting (B. 231) shows an elaborate arch or ciborium, surmounted by a cross and supported on two spirally fluted columns (fig. 29). From the arch a lamp hangs by three chains. At the bottom is the inscription Χριστε | βοη-
θησον | Μουσωνιου, "Christ, help Musonius." Another (B. 232: fig. 30) has a lively rearing bull and the letter Ζ. Another (B. 238: fig. 31), a crude human figure and an inscription which we are unable to interpret. Others have figures of peacocks, wavy lines, etc.

The sculpture fragments fall into two classes: those carved locally of limestone (either yellow or purplish in color) and imported pieces of marble, mostly Proconnesian. All of

the carved elements we have mentioned so far belong to the first category. Under the same heading we may also mention a little pilaster or table leg decorated with leaves attached to an upright stem (fig. 32),³⁸ and an ornate parapet slab (fig. 33) which, when complete, was about 1.60 m. long and consisted of three panels. In the central panel is a cross within a circular wreath; in the lateral panel (only one is preserved) a vase flanked by two birds and two branches. It may be presumed that this slab, which is much more elaborate than those separating the nave from the aisles, formed part of the chancel screen.

The marble carvings are of greater importance since they afford some chronological clues. We have before us, first, a series of fragments belonging to capitals of Proconnesian marble. We do not know in what position these were originally placed, nor how many of them there were: the fragments were found mostly in the "hall compartment" north of the basilica. The largest piece (B. 160) is a "two-zone" capital (figs. 34, 35)³⁹ which had four animals (rams?) at the corners. The ram's horn in the lower right corner of fig. 38 may possibly have belonged to one of them. Between the "rams" are, on one side, a lion's head with open mouth and protruding tongue; on the other, a kind of calyx supporting a number of round fruit. The bell of the capital is covered with a deeply undercut grape vine. The small fragment illustrated in fig. 36,⁴⁰ with one vine leaf and an astragal of beads, may possibly belong to this same capital. We also have fragments of probably two basket capitals. We say this because the small piece of basketwork shown in the lower left corner of fig. 38 has double grooves, while the larger piece with a double twisted cord astragal at the top of the same figure has basketwork with a single groove. The fragment of abacus with a corner dove (B. 244: fig. 37) may have belonged to either one of these basket capitals.

The above fragmentary capitals may be confidently ascribed to the first half of the

³⁷ Few Early Christian diaconica have been identified with certainty. According to the *Testamentum Domini* (I. 19) this structure ought to be to the right of the entrance, i.e., to the south of the church, but a good example of a diaconicon situated to the north is provided by Basilica D of Nea Anchialos: G. Soteriou, 'Η πρόθεσις και τὸ διακονικόν, in *Θεολογία*, 18 (1940), 86 ff.

³⁸ This object is 0.69 m. high, 0.125 wide at the base and 0.135 at the top. The back is flat.

³⁹ Height, as preserved, 0.20 m., median width at the top 0.30.

⁴⁰ Found outside the north wall of the baptistery. Height 0.125.

sixth century. For the basket capitals we need recall only those of the southeast porch of St. Sophia, Constantinople,⁴¹ and of S. Clemente, Rome (dated 514–23);⁴² for the dove a good parallel is provided by a capital from Basilica B of Nikopolis;⁴³ the calyx with fruit reappears in the basilica of Poreč (Parenzo) of 543–53;⁴⁴ and the deeply undercut grape vine reflects such Constantinopolitan works as the carvings of St. Polyeuktos⁴⁵ and the column drum with the Baptism of Christ, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.⁴⁶

Another group of marble carvings may be associated with the ambo. These include a parapet fragment (B. 185), slightly convex in plan and decorated with a cross within a frame of moldings (fig. 39),⁴⁷ and several connecting pieces (B. 196) that must have belonged to the slanting railing of the staircase that led up to the ambo (fig. 40). The broken slab with a tight acanthus rinceau shown in fig. 41 formed part of the same railing.

In the diaconicon were found six cakes of colored glass 2 to 3.2 cm. thick and two objects of alabaster, one of them a vase with a single handle (fig. 43), the other being the lid of a small reliquary box (fig. 42) in the shape of a sarcophagus.⁴⁸ This was probably the *enkainion*, originally placed under the altar table of the basilica.

The lower part of the walls of the basilica was decorated with simulated marble paneling done in fresco. Several small fragments of fresco attached to stones have been found

(figs. 45–47). They show rectangular, intersecting, and circular frames, and panels of green, yellow, and red “marble” with wavy lines.

So far, the only piece of datable material we have found are the imported “two-zone” capitals. In view of the fact, however, that their structural function is unknown, we cannot use them to date the basilica complex. To do so, we must rely on considerations of style and architectural layout. Our basilica represents a type that was widely spread throughout Greece and the Balkans in the second half of the fifth and in the sixth century.⁴⁹ Its most notable distinguishing feature, the Π-shaped podium in the apse, relates it to a group of churches in Greece, namely Basilicas A and B of Nea Anchialos (Thebes),⁵⁰ Basilicas A and B of Nikopolis,⁵¹ and the rather more rustic basilica of Voskochorion near Kozani.⁵² The separation of the nave from the aisles by means of parapet slabs placed between the columns is a more common feature, witness, e.g., the Acheiropoietos at Salonica, usually dated to ca. 470. The chronology of the Ionic impost capital is a highly complex problem into which we need not enter now.⁵³ Suffice it to say that our porch capitals preserve a fairly classical form in spite of the unduly tight spirals of their volutes—rather more classical, in fact, than the cruder capitals of the nave colonnades. In any case, both types are far removed from the degeneration of the Ionic form, such as we

⁴¹ R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), pl. 32, No. 522; E. Kitzinger, “The Horse and Lion Tapestry . . .,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3 (1946), fig. 107.

⁴² Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, fig. 115.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, fig. 109; Orlandos, Βασιλική, II, fig. 268. Cf. also fig. 267, a similar basket and dove capital from Rhodes.

⁴⁴ Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, fig. 77. Cf. also the capital from the baptistery of Salona (now in the Split Museum): W. Gerber, *Forschungen in Salona*, I (Vienna, 1912), fig. 124.

⁴⁵ R. M. Harrison and N. Firath, “Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul . . .,” *DOP*, 20 (1966), fig. 6.

⁴⁶ J. Strzygowski, “Die altbyzantinische Plastik der Blütezeit,” *BZ*, 1 (1892), pls. I–II.

⁴⁷ Height 0.355 m., width 0.43, thickness 0.05.

⁴⁸ For a catalogue of such reliquaries, see S. Eyice, “Reliquaires en forme de sarcophage en Anatolie et à Istanbul,” *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, 15–16 (1969), 127–45.

⁴⁹ See R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 95.

⁵⁰ G. A. Soteriou, Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας, in Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑφημ. (1929), 26, 119ff.

⁵¹ Orlandos, Βασιλική, II, 495.

⁵² A. Xyngoropoulos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Βοσκοχωρίου, in Μακεδονικά, 1 (1940), 11f. Here the podium, of which very little remains, seems to have been semicircular in plan. Mr. Megaw points out to us that a podium with a flight of steps also appears on the plan of Panagia Kanakaria, Cyprus (sixth century?), published by J. I. Smirnov, “Christianskija mozaiki Kipra,” *Vizant. Vremennik*, 4 (1897), 68.

⁵³ See Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 165ff.; E. Kitzinger, “A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi,” *DOP*, 3 (1946), 104ff.; F. W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden, 1956), 46ff.; I. Nikolajević-Stojković, *Ranovizantiska arhitektonska dekorativna plastika* (Belgrade, 1957), 18ff.

find in the mid-sixth-century capitals of Caričin Grad.⁵⁴ Our provisional conclusion, therefore, is that our basilica was built in the second half of the fifth century and partly remodeled in the sixth (the "two-zone" capitals may be connected with the remodeling). Future discoveries may, however, alter this dating or define it more accurately.

At the northwest corner of the basilica complex, and lying at an angle of about 45° to it, is a rectangular cistern which has not yet been excavated to its original depth (fig. 48). It has double walls, an outer wall of rubble and an inner wall of brick that was plastered over. From the cistern water was piped out into a large stone trough which remains *in situ*. At the juncture of the cistern and the corner of the diaconicon is a little ornamental feature consisting of three niches, a right-angle niche in the middle, flanked by two curved ones (fig. 49). This was probably a fountain. A crude "Nilotic" relief was found here (fig. 44) representing a winged centaur (?) with a female torso, a dolphin, a large duck, and a flowering plant.

In the winter of 1968 a hoard consisting of a gold ring, 13 gold coins, and 270 copper coins, was discovered by peasants in the south part of the town. These objects are now in the National Museum, Štip, where we were able to study them with the kind permission of the Director, Mr. Sanev. The gold ring (figs. 50, 51) is octagonal and is set with a carnelian intaglio representing a figure walking to the left and holding a bunch of grapes (?). The following inscription, in niello, circles this ring: EINEOYEPKOYΛONBINBIN. We are unable to interpret this legend, whether it be a cryptogram or a magical formula. Of the coins, we were able to examine all the gold ones and 245 of the copper ones; these are tabulated (CP = Constantinople; Nic. = Nicomedia; Cyz. = Cyzicus; Ant. = Antioch; Thess. = Thessalonica) on pages 274–75).

This hoard probably represents the savings of a farmer or craftsman, and we may suppose it was secreted shortly before the fall of the town. Considering the regularity with which the 1/2 follis pieces minted at Thessalonica succeed one another during the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius II, and the early years

of Maurice, there is some reason to believe the town was attacked and destroyed *ca.* 585.

It remains to describe the mediaeval church of St. George built on sloping ground, just outside the southeast corner of the town (figs. 52, 54).⁵⁵ In plan (fig. 53) it is cruciform, with a rather elongated bema area, large two-lobed windows in the north and south walls, above which is a round oculus, and a *tribelon* providing communication from the narthex into the nave. In the south arm of the cross is a rectangular tomb (figs. 57, 58) which was constructed simultaneously with the church. Attached to the south side of the narthex is a small square room covered with a dome. This room was built separately from the church. The columns, capitals, and bases of the *tribelon* as well as the window mullions (figs. 56, 57) are all spoils from the ancient town, taken either from the basilica or from the northwest residential complex. The church has been attributed to the ninth century, presumably on the assumption that it was the one built by King Boris in the bishopric of the Bregalnica, or to the ninth/tenth,⁵⁶ but at present there is no evidence for such a relatively early date. In the hope of shedding some light on the history of the church, an area to the northeast of it was excavated in 1970. This proved to have been a cemetery, and in all twenty-one cyst graves were observed and seventeen were opened (fig. 55). Inasmuch as older graves are in many cases cut into by newer ones, it

⁵⁵ The church and its frescoes were restored starting in 1953. See K. Balabanov, "Konzervatorski raboti na crkvata Sv. Djordji...", *Zbornik na Štipskiot Naroden Muzej*, 1 (1959), 121–22.

⁵⁶ Stamen Mihailov, "Kozjak i Bregalniškata episkopija," *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija Arheologičeski Institut*, 15 (1946), 5ff. N. Mavrodinov, *Starobŭlgarskoto izkustvo* (Sofia, 1959), 178–79, considers the church as being probably of the time of King Boris; V. Korać, "O prirodi obnove i pravcima razvika arhitekture..." *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Inst.*, VIII/2 (1964), 215, attributes it to the second half of the twelfth century; R. M. Grujić, "Arheološke i istoriske beleške iz Makedonije," *Starinar*, N. S., 3/4 (1952–53; published 1955), 212–15, incorrectly identifies it with the church of Sv. Petka, built by a certain Karba (founder of the village Karbinci) shortly before 1332. In plan, St. George's offers some resemblance to a ruined church at Žiganci (west of Kočani), which Mihailov, *op. cit.*, 21, attributes to the fourteenth century.

⁵⁴ Nikolajević-Stojković, *op. cit.*, fig. 88ff.

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Anastasius I (498–518)	CP	follis		2
				2
Justin I (518–527)	CP	follis		4
	—	$\frac{1}{2}$ follis		1
	Nic.	follis		1
				6
Justinian I (527–565)	CP	follis	527–38	3
	—	—	538–9	1
	—	—	539–40	3
	—	—	540–1	1
	—	—	544–5	2
	—	—	555–6	1
	—	$\frac{1}{2}$ follis	542–3	1
	Nic.	follis	538–9	1
	—	—	539–40	1
	—	—	540–1	1
	—	—	545–6	1
	—	$\frac{1}{2}$ follis	557–8	2
	Cyz.	follis	545–6	1
	—	—	548–9	1
	—	—	550–1	1
	—	—	552–3	1
	—	$\frac{1}{2}$ follis	546–7	1
	Ant.	follis	547–8	1
	—	—	554–5	1
	—	—	555–6	1
	—	—	557–8	1
	—	—	562–3	1
	Thess.	$\frac{1}{2}$ follis	563–4	1
				29
Justin II (565–578)	CP	solidus		2
	—	tremissis		5
	—	follis	566–7	1
	—	—	567–8	1
	—	—	569–70	2
	—	—	574–5	1
	—	—	575–6	2
	—	$\frac{1}{2}$ follis	569–70	1
	Nic.	follis	570–1	3

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Justin II	—	follis	571-2	2
	—	—	573-4	2
	—	½ follis	572-3	1
	Cyz.	follis	567-8	1
	—	—	574-5	1
	—	½ follis	572-3	1
	—	—	573-4	1
	—	—	574-5	1
	Ant.	follis	574-5	2
	Thess.	½ follis	565-6	1
attrib. doubtful	—	—	565-6?	6
	—	—	566-7	4
attrib. doubtful	—	—	566-7?	8
	—	—	567-8	3
attrib. doubtful	—	—	567-8?	4
	—	—	568-9	3
attrib. doubtful	?	—	568-9?	1
	Thess.	—	569-70	5
attrib. doubtful	—	—	569-70?	2
	—	—	570-1	1
	—	—	572-3	6
	—	—	573-4	3
	—	—	574-5	12
	—	—	575-6	7
	—	—	576-7	1
	—	—	577-8	6
attrib. doubtful	—	—	?	12
attrib. doubtful	?	—	?	4
				119
Tiberius II (578-582)	CP	tremissis		6
	—	follis	579	1
	Thess.	½ follis	—	31
	—	—	579-80	4
	—	—	580-1	12
	—	—	581-2	6
				60
Maurice (582-602)	Thess.	½ follis	582-3	5
	—	—	583-4	23
attrib. doubtful	—	—	583-4?	2
attrib. doubtful	—	—	584-5	10
attrib. doubtful	?	—	?	2
				42

may be assumed that the cemetery was used for a long time. The objects found here, such as bronze rings and buttons, do not appear to be earlier than the fourteenth century. In view of this consideration and the fact that the graves are more or less aligned with the church, which is incorrectly oriented, it may be suggested that the cemetery was established after the church had been built. Further excavation of the cemetery and of the building trench round the church may shed new light on this problem.

The interior of the church (figs. 56–59) bears a painted decoration which reveals three successive stages.⁵⁷ The lowest layer, which is visible in many places, but is apparently absent from the upper zone, is one of plain unpainted plaster brought to a smooth finish. There are a number of graffiti on this layer, thus suggesting that the church remained without a painted decoration for some time, and only one painting—a faint half-figure of a youthful saint in what may be called the diaconicon niche (i.e., the niche of the south-east pier)—but this is a preliminary sketch, not a finished picture.⁵⁸ The second stage is represented by a single painting, that of Christ Antiphonetes (the Guarantor)⁵⁹ on the south face of the northwest pier (figs. 56, 60). It is done on an uneven coat of plaster, about 2 cm. thick at the bottom, tapering to a few millimeters at the top: evidently, this was an individual panel, not a part of a larger program. Judging by its style, this painting can hardly be earlier than the thirteenth century.

⁵⁷ See Z. Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, "Crkvata Sv. Djordji vo Goren Kozjak vo svetlinata na novite ispituvanja," *Simpozium 1100-godišnina od smrtta na Kiril Solunski*, I (Skopje, 1970), 219–26.

⁵⁸ The saint has short hair and a rather small halo. His right hand is held in front of the breast (grasping a cross?), the left hand palm outward. On the right elbow are faint traces of decorative circles surrounded by pellets. The background is blue only down to the neckline, the rest being light brown. The entire surface of the painting is covered with notches for the application of the second coat of plaster on which was painted the image of St. Romanos Melodos (now detached).

⁵⁹ On this iconographic type, see C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), 142ff.; *idem*, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *DOP*, 13 (1959), 252.

It is a rustic work executed in inexpensive colors,⁶⁰ and is covered with graffiti indicating, once again, that it remained exposed for some time. It is only in the third stage that the entire interior was painted. To provide more wall space, the lateral windows as well as the oculi above them were then filled up. The program was quite normal: standing saints in the lower zone,⁶¹ a Gospel cycle in the upper zone and in the lunettes,⁶² bishops in the apse and bema,⁶³ and prophets in the soffits of the arches supporting the dome. This decoration was clearly the work of two painters: one of them worked in the apse and bema in a broad, monumental, and rather untidy manner (fig. 61); the other, a follower

⁶⁰ Mostly gray and red earth. Above the upper red border of the panel is painted the name *ТОДОР*.

⁶¹ Starting at the north wall of the *tribelon* and going round the nave clockwise there are the following figures: unidentified military saint; Christ Antiphonetes (in stage 3 a figure of St. Demetrius was painted over Christ); Sts. Constantine and Helena on the east face of the NW pier; unidentified military saint to the left of the window; St. Stephen in the prothesis niche; Virgin and Child on the south wall of the bema; St. Romanos Melodos in the diaconicon niche; Sts. Cosmas and Damian on the east face of the SW pier; St. Paraskeve on the south wall of the *tribelon*.

⁶² Annunciation on the NE and SE piers; Nativity in the lunette of the south wall; Presentation and Baptism in the middle zone of the south wall; Transfiguration in the lunette of the west wall; Raising of Lazarus and Entry into Jerusalem in the middle zone of the north wall; Anastasis in the lunette of the south wall; Ascension in the bema arch; Koimesis on the west wall. In the middle zone are also a number of single figures, namely Joachim on the north wall of the bema facing Anna on the south wall; St. Christopher on the north side of the SW pier; an unidentified saint on the south side of the NW pier; St. Panteleemon and another saint on the east face of the NW pier.

⁶³ These are in two registers. Lower zone: Sts. John Chrysostom and Nicholas on the north side of the apse; Basil and Gregory Nazianzen on the south side; Cyril of Alexandria and Peter of Alexandria on the south wall of the bema (the corresponding figures on the north wall of the bema have been destroyed). Upper zone: Sylvester and Hypatios on the north side of the apse; James the Brother of the Lord and Athanasios on the south side of the apse; Antipas and Modestios (i.e., Modestus) on the north wall of the bema; Gregory Thaumaturgos and Hermolaos on the south wall of the bema.

of the "Milutin school," executed the rest of the paintings in a much more meticulous style (fig. 62). A date toward the middle of the fourteenth century may be suggested for the third phase. The narthex was painted at the same time. On its east wall are small fragments of scenes from the life of St. George, while on the west wall, to the right of the entrance door, is an interesting "ktetoric" panel (fig. 63). First comes the founder, or rather the patron responsible for the decoration, dressed in a black kaftan and holding a model of the church in his left hand (fig. 64).⁶⁴ He is followed by a young boy, probably his son, also dressed in a black kaftan over an embroidered shirt. His head is, unfortunately, missing. Third comes the "founder"'s wife in a long red robe worn over an embroidered white undergarment with long flowing sleeves that fall nearly to the ground. Between the heads of the "founder" and his son is the following fragmentary inscription (fig. 65):

..... ΟΥ
 ΚΕΥΡ
 ΟΣ. ΚΕ ΤΗΣΙΝ
 ΚΗ ΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΧ^ε
 ΜΑΡΗΑΣ⁶⁵ ΚΤΗ-
 ΤΟΡΙΣΑΣ

We shall now draw some tentative conclusions in the full realization that these may have to be modified after further excavation has been carried out on the site. The town of Bargala appears to have been moved to Goren Kozjak in the fifth century A.D. The walls were probably built at that time, and the basilica in the second half of the century. No remains of the pagan period have been found on the site except for a small pedestal inscribed Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (in front of the northwest residential complex) and two fragments of second- or third-century sculpture probably belonging to sarcophagi: one (fig. 66) represents a maenad (?),⁶⁶ the other

(fig. 67) a nude man mounted on a horse with a paludamentum slung over his shoulder.⁶⁷ These objects could easily have been brought from elsewhere, say from Dolen Kozjak. The relocated town of Bargala had an existence of not much longer than a century. About the year 585 it was captured by the Slavs or the Avars and, to a large extent, destroyed. What happened thereafter it is hard to say. There are some traces of squatters' life in the ancient buildings,⁶⁸ but so far no unambiguously early Slavic artifacts have come to light.⁶⁹

We are not yet in a position to say when St. George's was built, but in the later Middle Ages it was serving the needs of a village whose population was Slavic speaking as indicated by numerous graffiti.

ton); No. 15A, pl. 24 (Attic sarcophagus in the Museo Civico, Brescia). We owe these comparisons to Dr. Beat Brenk.

⁶⁷ Cf. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III/2 (Berlin, 1904), Nos. 152c, 164, 167, 179, etc. (all Hippolytus sarcophagi).

⁶⁸ We are referring to the brick partition in the residential complex shown in fig. 9 and to a crude step-like construction containing fragments of sculpture in the hall compartment between the diaconicon of the basilica and the vestibule of the baptistery. We are not in a position to say whether these features are earlier or later than the destruction of the city.

⁶⁹ A study of the pottery may provide further information on this topic. The sherds found so far (except for one or two late mediaeval pieces) are unglazed and bear a simple decoration of incised lines, either straight or wavy, dots, and short strokes (figs. 68, 69). These occur in the Byzantine destruction layer. It should also be mentioned here that the previous excavation of the cemetery to the southeast of St. George's led one of us to suppose that the rather large stones of which some of the cyst graves were constructed were in secondary use and had been derived from early Slavic burials. See B. Aleksova, "Bargala-Bregalnica" (as in note 3, *supra*), 25. One Byzantine coin of the anonymous type was found in this context (*ibid.*, pl. vi). This seems to belong to "anonymous, class A-2" (large flan) which has been attributed to the reigns of Basil II with Constantine and Constantine VIII alone (989-1028). See A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 35 (New York, 1928), pl. 1.4; *The Athenian Agora*, II: *Coins*, by M. Thompson (Princeton, 1954), 113.

⁶⁴ The church is represented with a main dome and two lateral domes, which may suggest that there was at the time a northern domed annex corresponding to the southern one which is still extant.

⁶⁵ Perhaps μακας.

⁶⁶ Cf. F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, I (Berlin, 1968), No. 7, pl. 14 (Attic sarcophagus in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Bos-

APPENDIX

MEDIAEVAL CHURCHES IN THE
BREGALNICA REGION*Blaga Aleksova*

In the territory encompassed by the Bargala-Bregalnica bishopric there were many churches which are mentioned in literary and historical sources. Some of these have been preserved, though mostly in ruins. Thanks to intensive research during the last few years, a number of church buildings belonging to the Byzantine and Slavic periods have been discovered; a few were found accidentally by local villagers.

1. VILLAGE ADŽIBEGOVO. At the confluence of the St. Nikola and Bregalnica rivers the remnants of a ruined church and a necropolis containing graves of stone construction dating from the ninth-tenth century came to light in 1966.⁷⁰

2. VILLAGE ORIZARI, Kočansko. At a place called Krušarski-Rid a single-nave church with narthex and porch, dating from the ninth-tenth century was excavated in 1959. The length of the church is 9.60 m., the width 4.40 m. The necropolis next to the church dates in its lower strata from the fifth-sixth century, while the upper graves are ninth-tenth.⁷¹

3. VILLAGE GORNO DJUDJANCI. By the road are the remnants of an Early Christian basilica with numerous remains of decorative architectural carving.⁷²

4. VILLAGE TARINCI. In the village, in the locality called Crkvište, are an old graveyard and the ruins of an antique temple later used as a church. The monument is rectangular and has a vestibule. Within it are some remains of architectural carving.⁷³

⁷⁰ B. Aleksova, "Novi naodi od Štipsko," *Zbornik na Štipskiot Naroden Muzej*, 3 (1964), 100, 101.

⁷¹ B. Aleksova, "Arheološki iskopuvanja vo s. Orizari-Kočansko," *Zbornik na Štipskiot Naroden Muzej*, 3 (1964), 81-99.

⁷² Recorded in 1966 and again in 1969.

⁷³ Recorded in 1970.

5. VILLAGE TARINCI. On the hill near the village graveyard, peasants came upon an antique temple later used as a church. It is a single-nave building, with the remnants of an altar table.⁷⁴

6. VILLAGE KARBINCI. In the village is the church of St. Spas, in the interior of which are some old stone bases.⁷⁵ The present church was probably built on the foundations of an older church. In historical sources we find mention of the construction of a church of St. Petka by Karba, on the river Bregalnica. The village in which Karba lived was named Karbinci.⁷⁶

7. VILLAGE KARBINCI. Southwest of the village, in the locality known as Crkovište, are the remains of a building with numerous marble slabs, probably part of an opus sectile pavement.⁷⁷

8. VILLAGE SOKOLARCI. On the northwest hill are the remains of an old ruined church.⁷⁸

9. VILLAGE SOKOLARCI. Next to a spring, in the western section of a place called Crkvište, are remnants of marble slabs from the floor of a building similar to those found at Karbinci in the locality of Crkovište. Near the church is a cemetery.⁷⁹

10. VILLAGE SOKOLARCI. In the village church are built-in fragments of decorative architectural carving: a stylized marble lion (on the door), and ram and ox heads from fourteenth-century capitals similar to those in the church of Mateiče.⁸⁰ The church was built on the foundations of an older church.

⁷⁴ Recorded in 1970.

⁷⁵ Recorded in 1969.

⁷⁶ Grujić, "Arheološke i istoriske beleške iz Makedonije" (*supra*, note 56), 212, 215; St. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, V (Belgrade, 1912), 400, 404, 422; V. Petković, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika kroz povescnicu srpskog naroda* (Belgrade, 1950), 245. A church on the Bregalnica was built by Karba and donated by Kralj Milutin to the church of Sts. Arandjeli in Štip; later, in 1332, Stefan Dušan donated both churches to Chilandar: Novaković, *op. cit.*, 513, mentions the church of Sts. Vrači on the Bregalnica which Stefan Dušan donated to Chilandar in 1348.

⁷⁷ Recorded in 1969.

⁷⁸ Recorded in 1970.

⁷⁹ Recorded in 1970.

⁸⁰ Recorded in 1970. Petković, *Pregled*, 184.

11. VILLAGE LJUBOTEN. Near the village the foundations of an old church were discovered in 1969.

12. VILLAGE ŽIGANCI. The ruins of a cruciform church of an old Slavic building type have been discovered. Stamen Mihailov dates it to the fourteenth century.⁸¹

13. VILLAGE KRUPIŠTE. St. Nikola, a single-nave church, is a vaulted building to which a vestibule was added later. According to an inscription, it was built in 1625 and decorated with paintings two years later. It is constructed of rubble. In the walls are built-in remains of decorative architectural carving from an older structure. The church was restored in 1880 by the painter Isaija Debreli. Documents of 1354–55 mention that Stefan Dušan at the Council in Krupište confirmed to the monastery of Chilandar the possession of the land already granted to it by King Milutin.⁸²

14. VILLAGE ILIEVO. Next to the village graveyard was discovered a single-nave church measuring 12.70 x 7.20 m., with walls preserved to a height of 1.60 m. and a brick floor. Along the aisle walls the benches are preserved. The frescoes in the apse date from the fourteenth century. South of the church is a necropolis.⁸³

15. VILLAGE DULICA. In the locality of Kulata-Keramidnica, an old mine at the confluence of the Kamenica and the Bregalnica rivers, an Early Byzantine single-nave church with atrium was discovered, measuring 10.60 x 6.30 m. In the interior of the apse are the synthronon and the bishop's chair, and remnants of the altar table. Several phases in the construction of the monument are detectable; the church dates from the sixth century.⁸⁴

16. VILLAGE DULICA. In the locality of Begov Dab is an Early Byzantine basilica with a necropolis. The church has two aisles and a

narthex, and the nave is divided from the aisles by columns. The foundations of the chancel and of the entrance to the bema are preserved, also the remains of the synthronon and the bishop's chair. Traces of the foundations of the altar were found. The floor is of thin bricks. To the west of the church, Slavic graves were discovered.⁸⁵

17. VILLAGE MOROZVIZD. Within the fortress walls is a cruciform church of the ninth-century. It was excavated by villagers in 1969 and a modern church was erected on the same site.⁸⁶

18. VILLAGE MOROZVIZD. In the middle of the village is a ruined church with traces of fresco painting. Around it is a necropolis.⁸⁷

19. VILLAGE TRABOTIVIŠTE. On the right side of the River Bregalnica a church with remains of decorative architectural carving and some liturgical vessels was discovered in 1969.⁸⁸

20. DJURIŠKI MANASTIR. On the Ovče Pole is the church of the Virgin, with an inscription above the door giving the date 1595.⁸⁹ It has not been investigated.

21. VILLAGE BORILOVCI. To the east of the St. Nikola river is the church of St. Nikola, a single-nave building with semicircular apse, and a graveyard. The church is built of rubble, and bricks are used for the arches. There are two layers of painting: the older fresco decoration, of the fifteenth-sixteenth century, was restored in the nineteenth.⁹⁰

22. VILLAGE PIROG. East of Zletovo is the church of the Ascension of the Virgin, single-naved and vaulted. It has scanty remains of fresco paintings. It is dated fifteenth-sixteenth century. A 1538 inscription mentions the Archdeacon Silvester.⁹¹

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁸⁶ Mihailov, *op. cit.*, 19f.

⁸⁷ Aleksova, "Bargala-Bregalnica" (see *supra*, note 3), 23.

⁸⁸ Recorded in 1969.

⁸⁹ Petković, *Pregled*, 116; M. Pavlović, "Zapisi kod Djuriškog manastira," *Glasnik škopskog naučnog društva*, 15–16 (1936), 363f.

⁹⁰ Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 121f.

⁹¹ M. Purković, *Popis crkava u staroj srpskoj državi* (Skopje, 1938), 15; Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 122.

⁸¹ Mihailov, "Kozjak i Bregalniškata episkopija" (see *supra*, note 56), 20f.

⁸² Novaković, *op. cit.*, 433–34; A. Nikolovski and others, *Kulturni spomenici vo NR Makedonija* (Skopje, 1961), 123; Grujić, *op. cit.*, 203f.

⁸³ I. Mikulčić and A. Keramitčiev, "Sondažna recognosciranje gornjeg toka Bregalnice," *Arheološki pregled*, 10 (1968), 224.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

23. ZLETOVO. Several churches are mentioned in documents.

St. George is single-naved, vaulted, with an apse; a vestibule was added later. On the south side a porch was discovered. The building was restored in 1853. The earliest frescoes are dated sixteenth-seventeenth century.⁹²

The churches of St. Nikola, St. Dimitrie, and Sts. Arandjeli were donated by Konstantin Dejanović in 1380 to St. Panteleimon on Mt. Athos. The donation to Lesnovo of the church of St. Ilija was confirmed by Stefan Dušan.⁹³

In Štip several churches exist or are known to have existed.

24. ŠTIP. The church of Arandjeli was built by the Protosebastos Hrelja in 1334. In 1348 it was recorded as a metochion of Chilandar. It is a cruciform building, with a dome octagonal on the outside. The exterior wall of the east apse is hexagonal. On the south façade a compartment with dome was added later, but was pulled down when the church was restored. The façades are decorated with blind arcades.⁹⁴

25. ŠTIP. St. Spas, with graveyard, is single-naved with an apse which is triangular on the exterior. It was built before 1388 by Duke Dimitar. In 1388 Konstantin Dejanović confirmed the donation. The painter Jovan signed the fresco decoration in 1601.⁹⁵

26. ŠTIP. St. Jovan is single-naved with an apse which on the outside is semicircular and decorated with niches. It was built by Ivanko Probištipović before 1350. In 1350 Stefan Dušan confirmed all donations made to this church by Ivanko.⁹⁶

⁹² Petković, *Pregled*, 128; P. Popović, "Prilog za studije stare srpske crkvene arhitekture," *Starinar*, 3rd Ser., 1 (1923), 110; Dj. Bošković, in *Starinar*, 3rd Ser., 7 (1932), 95; Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 124f.

⁹³ Petković, *Pregled*, 128; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 678f.

⁹⁴ Petković, *Pregled*, 352f., notes 4708–4711; Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 118–20.

⁹⁵ Petković, *Pregled*, 353, notes 4712–4714; Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 120.

⁹⁶ Petković, *Pregled*, 353, note 4715f.; Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 120f.

27. ŠTIP. St. Ilija–Husa Medin Pasha Mosque. A mosque was built over the old church, but the monument is still known as St. Ilija. Decorative architectural carvings are frequently discovered near this building.⁹⁷

28. KOČANI, near Štip. An Early Byzantine church with numerous remains of decorative architectural carving was discovered in 1944.⁹⁸

In historical and literary sources and in the list compiled by V. Petković several other churches are mentioned in Štip, which so far have not been located. They are as follows:

29. Sts. Arandjeli Glavatov, donated to St. Panteleimon on Mt. Athos about 1378 by the brothers Dejanović.⁹⁹

30. St. Nikola, which belonged to Lesnovo. Stefan Dušan donated it to the bishopric of Zletovo, and in 1381 Konstantin Dejanović donated it to Chilandar.¹⁰⁰

31. The church of Pop Sterija, which was donated to Chilandar by Konstantin Dejanović in 1381.¹⁰¹

32. St. Vasilie near Štip was built by Čelnik Stanislav in 1377 and was donated to Chilandar.¹⁰²

Additional churches in this region are recorded in the list of ecclesiastical buildings made by V. Petković on the basis of literary sources.

33. VILLAGE SOPOT. St. Nikola, on Ovče Pole.¹⁰³

34. VILLAGE BOGOSLOVEC. St. John the Apostle, on Ovče Pole.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Nikolovski and others, *op. cit.*, 125.

⁹⁸ Mihailov, *op. cit.*, 21f.

⁹⁹ Petković, *Pregled*, 353; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 514.

¹⁰⁰ Petković *Pregled*, 220; Purković, *op. cit.*, 40; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 675, 678; Ivanov, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 17), 204.

¹⁰¹ Petković, *Pregled*, 353; Purković, *op. cit.*, 43; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 455.

¹⁰² Petković, *Pregled*, 58; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 453.

¹⁰³ Petković, *Pregled*, 303; J. H. Vasiljević, *Južna stara Srbija*, 1 (Belgrade, 1909), 447.

¹⁰⁴ Petković, *Pregled*, 46; Purković, *op. cit.*, 27.

35. SVETI NIKOLE. St. Nikola, restored by Stefan Dečanski.¹⁰⁵

36. KOČANI. St. Dimitrije, built by Oliver in 1337.¹⁰⁶

37. VILLAGE BAKOVO. A church near Zletovo which Oliver granted to Lesnovo in 1341.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ M. Čučković, "Varošica Sveti Nikola na Ovčem Polju," *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva*, 15-16 (1936), 274; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 514; Petković, *Pregled*, 218.

¹⁰⁶ Petković, *Pregled*, 100, note 1278; Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 213; Mihailov, *op. cit.*, 22; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 662f.; Purković, *op. cit.*, 22.

¹⁰⁷ Petković, *Pregled*, 214; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 454, 675, 677; Purković, *op. cit.*, 34.

38. VILLAGE SLAVIŠTE. The church of the Birth of the Virgin, near Kriva Palanka.¹⁰⁸

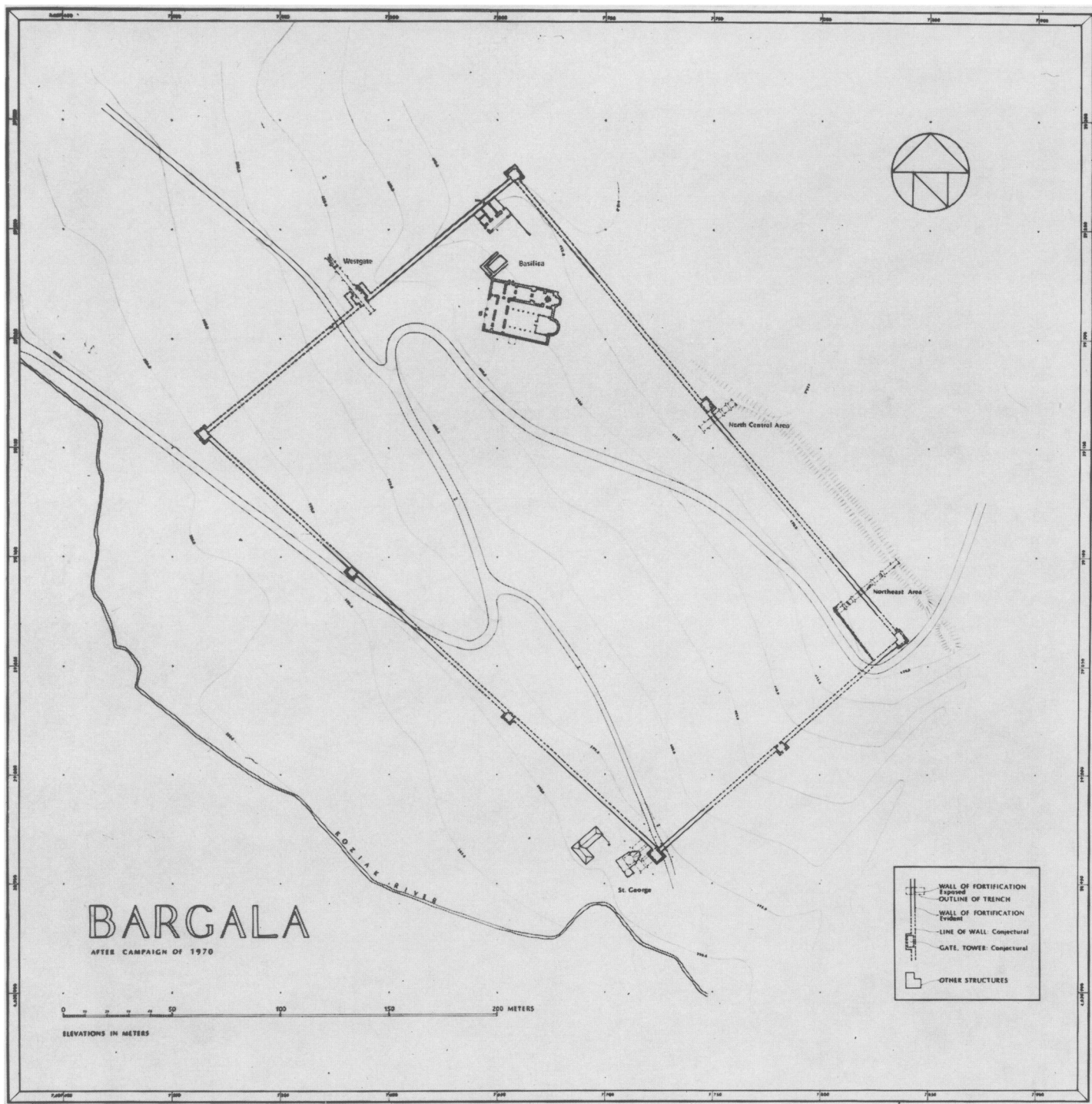
39. VILLAGE KISELICA. A church near Delčevo which was granted to Lesnovo by Konstantin Dejanović in 1381.¹⁰⁹

40. PIJANEC. St. Nikola, near Delčevo, which Stefan Dušan donated to Lesnovo, and Konstantin Dejanović to Chilandar in 1381.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Petković, *Pregled*, 299, note 3920.

¹⁰⁹ Petković, *Pregled*, 216, note 2745.

¹¹⁰ Petković, *Pregled*, 218; Purković, *op. cit.*, 38; Novaković, *op. cit.*, 454, 679.



1. Site Plan of Bargala



2. Skopje, Archaeological Museum. Inscription of A.D. 371



3. Bargala, Northeast Corner, showing Earth Bank and City Wall



4. West Gate



5. West Gate, Fallen Brick Arch
Bargala



6.



7.

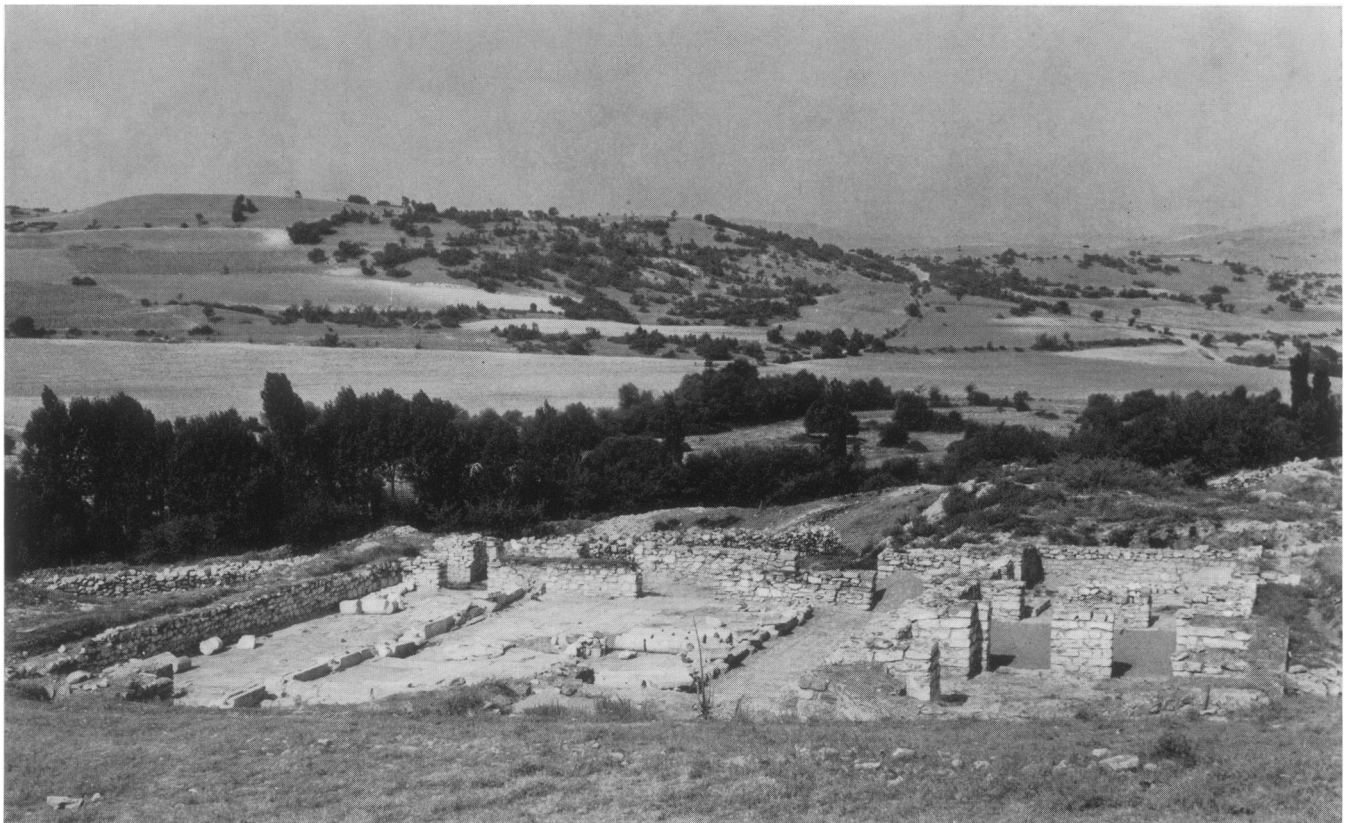
Decorated Post found in West Gate Area



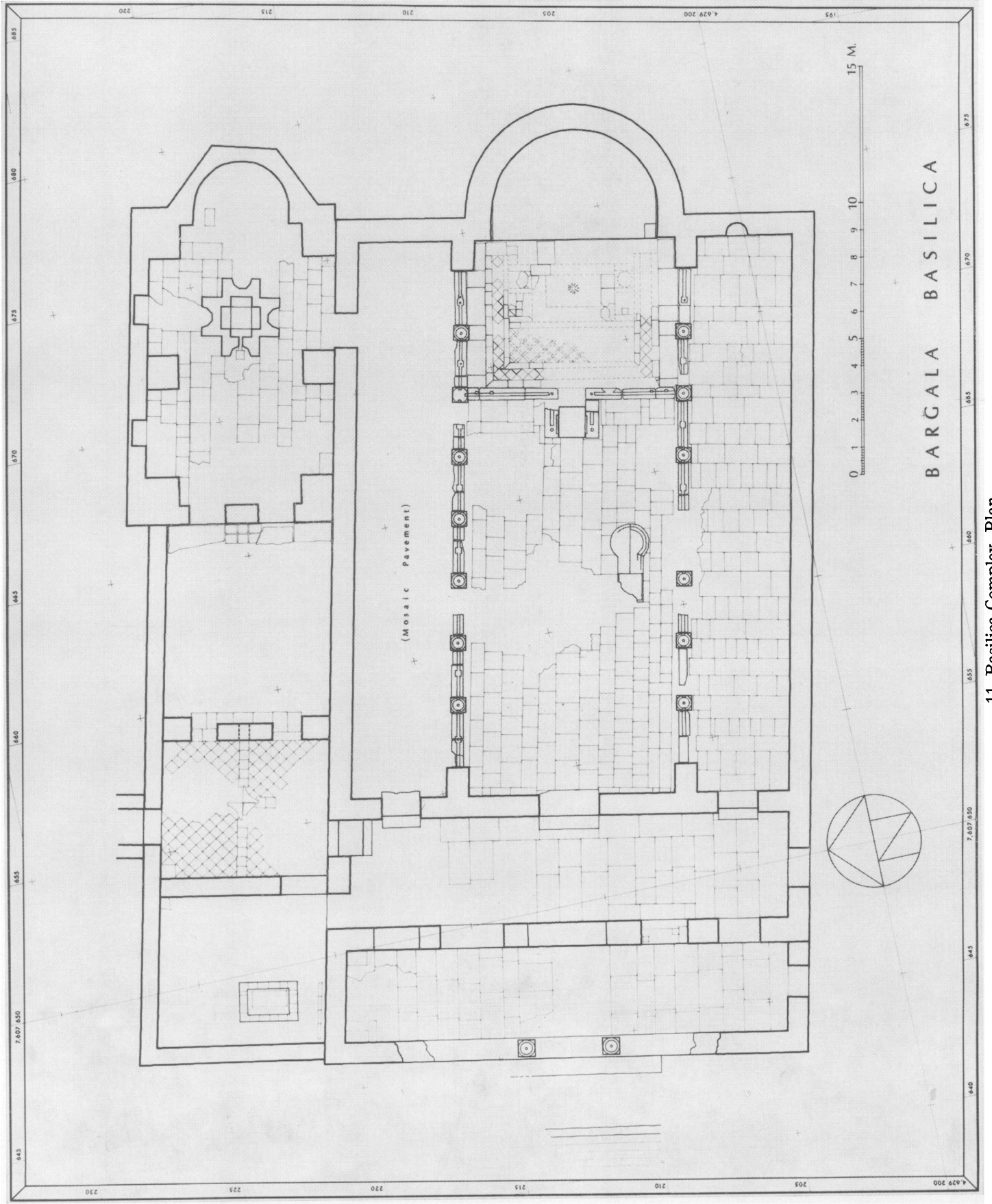
8. Residential Complex at Northwest Corner



9. Residential Complex, Brick Fill of Doorway



10. Basilica Complex from the East



11. Basilica Complex. Plan



12.

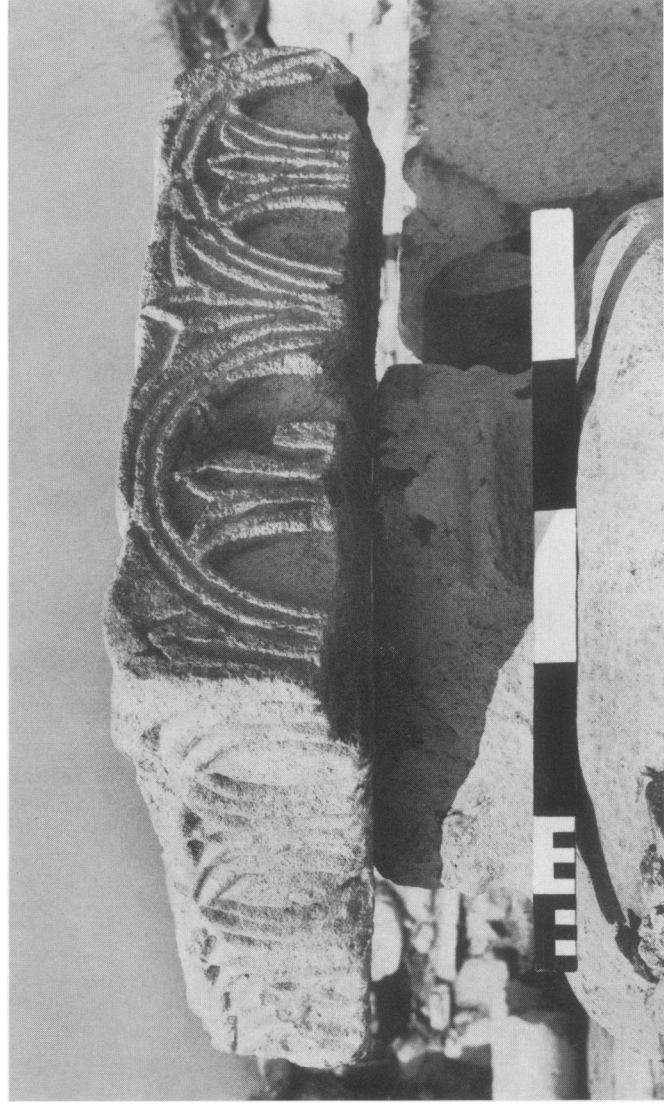
Porch, Ionic Capitals



13.



14. Porch, Impost Block



15. Fragment of Cornice

Basilica



16.



17.

Basilica, North Aisle. Mosaic Pavement



18.



19.

Capitals of Lower Order



20. Capital of Upper Order

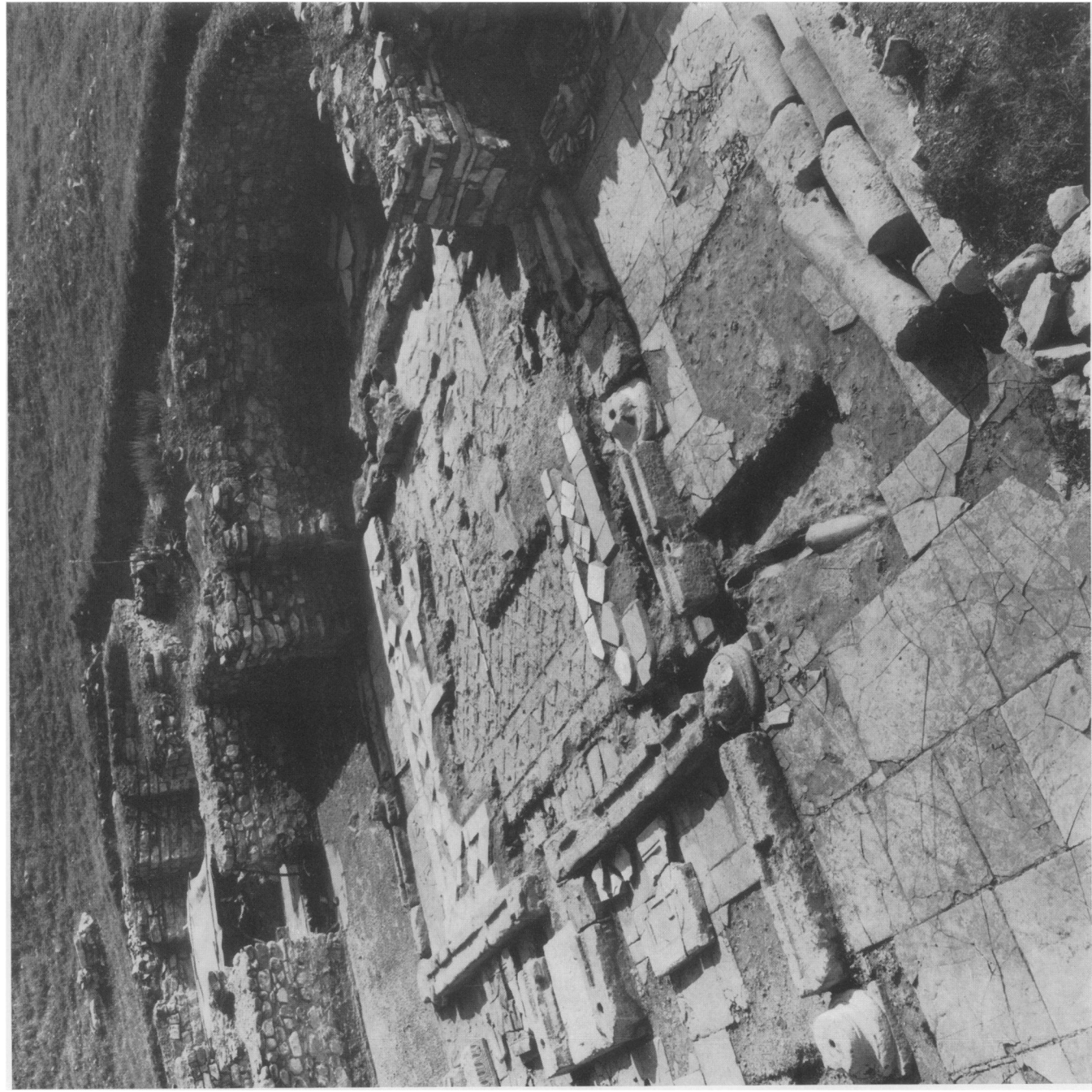


21. Fragment of Cornice

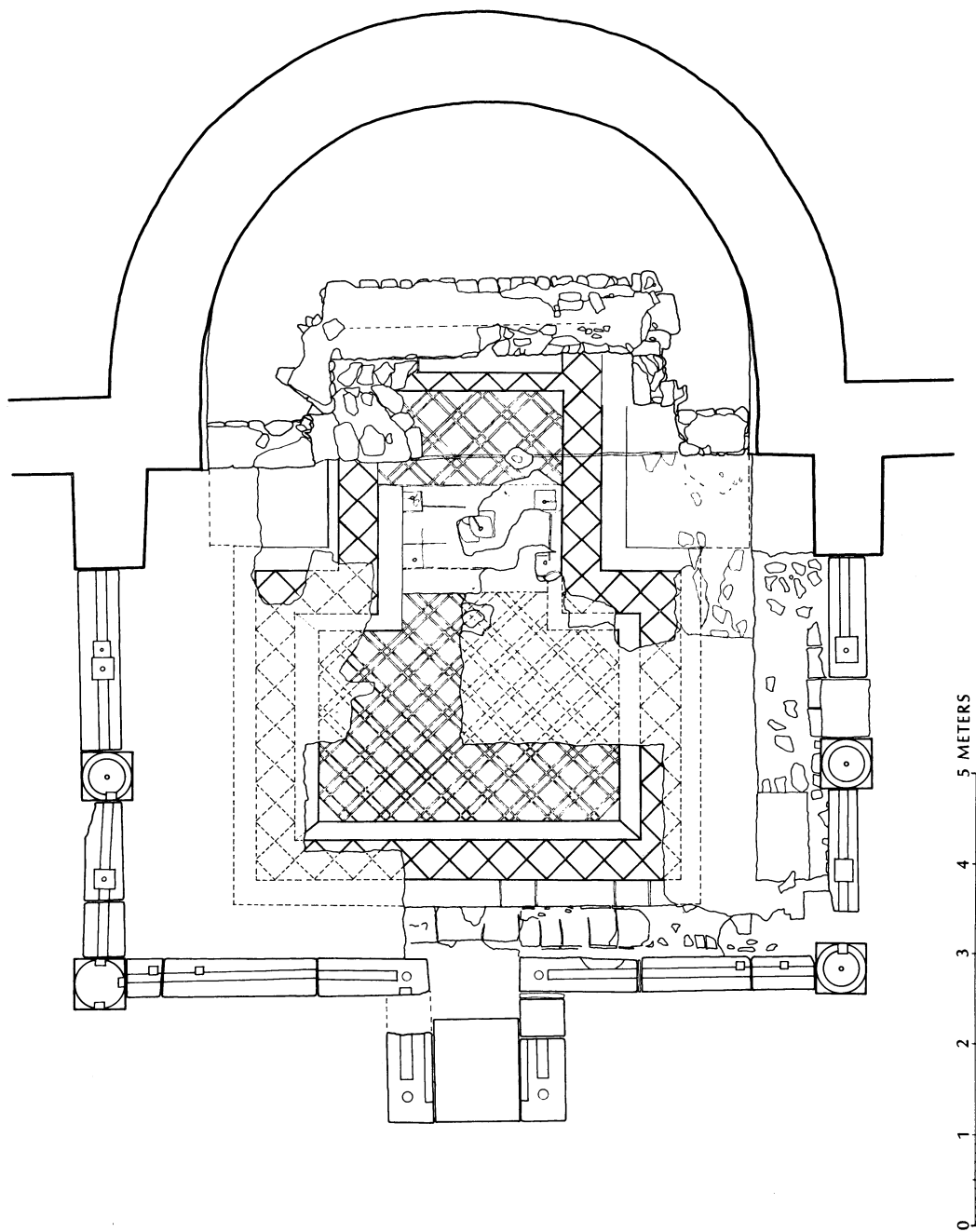


22. Fragment of Cornice

Basilica



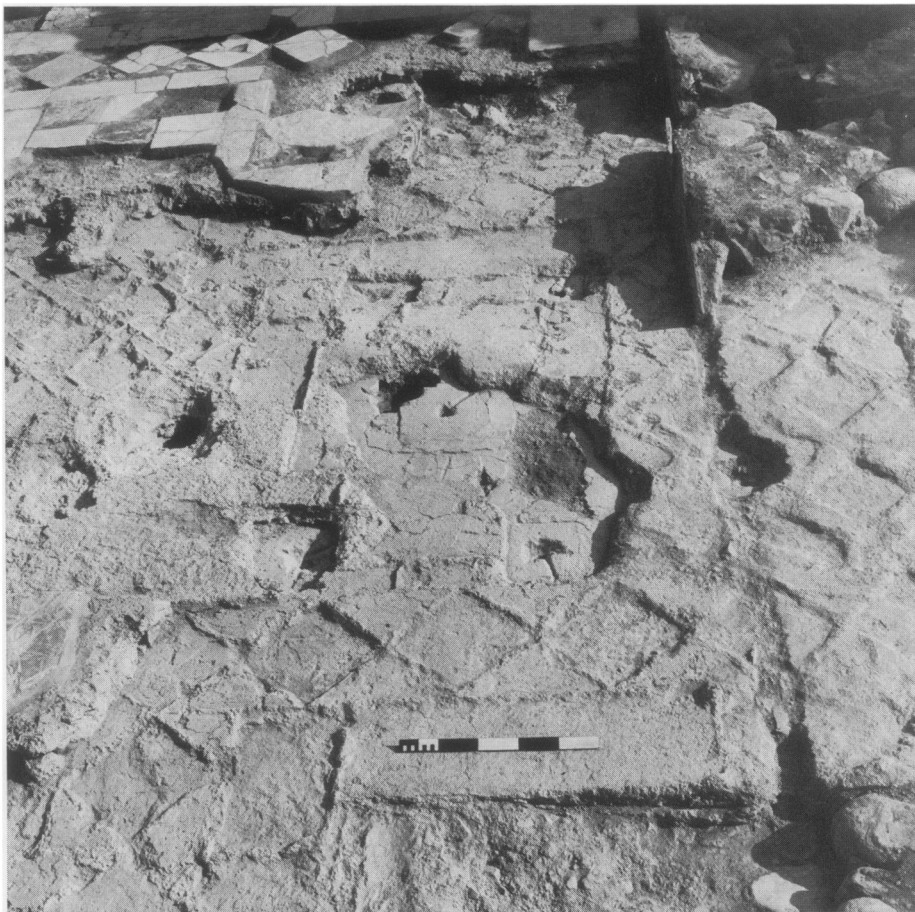
23. Basilica, Bema, from Southwest



Basilica: Bema Plan of Original Floor



25. Southwest Corner. Trough and Water Conduit



26. Foundation of Stage 1 Altar Table
Basilica, Bema



27. Baptismal Font



28. Hall to West
Basilica, Baptistery

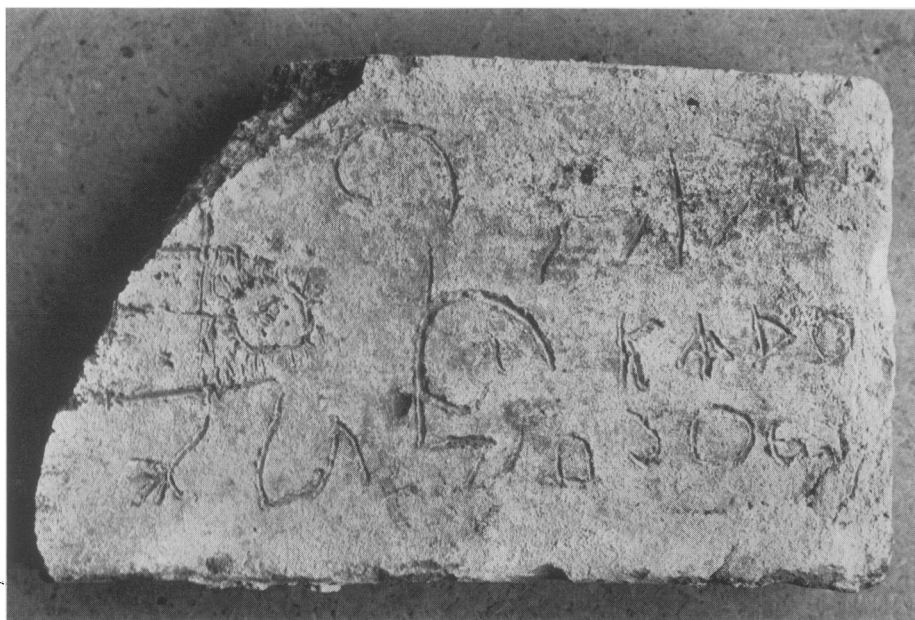


29.

Bricks with Incised Decoration found in Basilica Complex



30.



31. Brick with Incised Decoration found in Basilica Complex



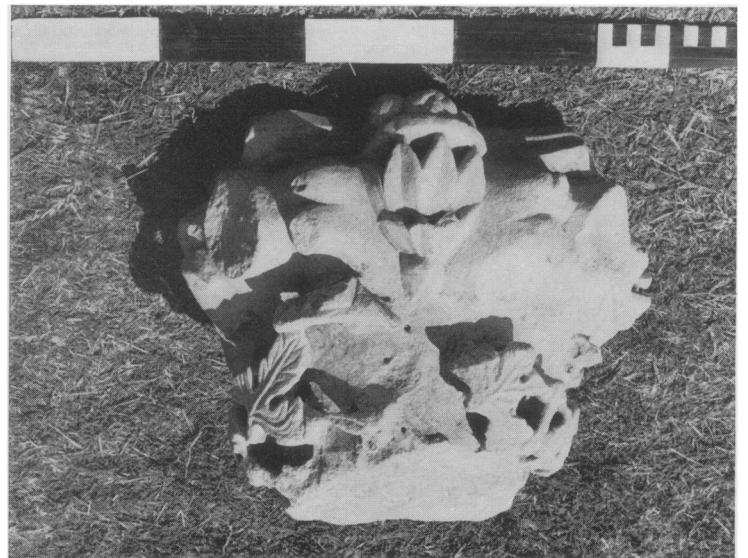
32. Pilaster or Table Leg found in Basilica Complex



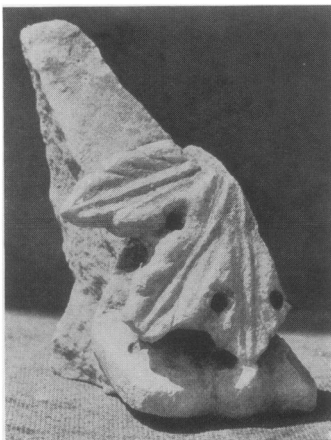
33. Basilica, Parapet Slab



34.



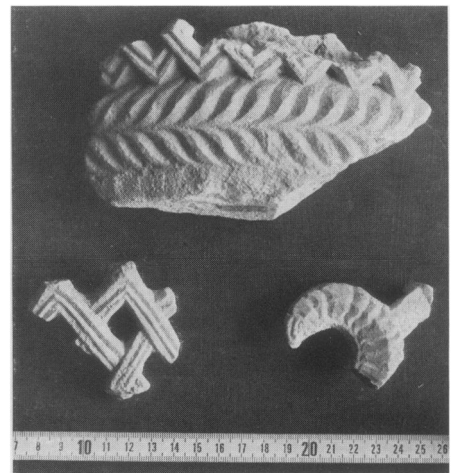
35.



36.



37.



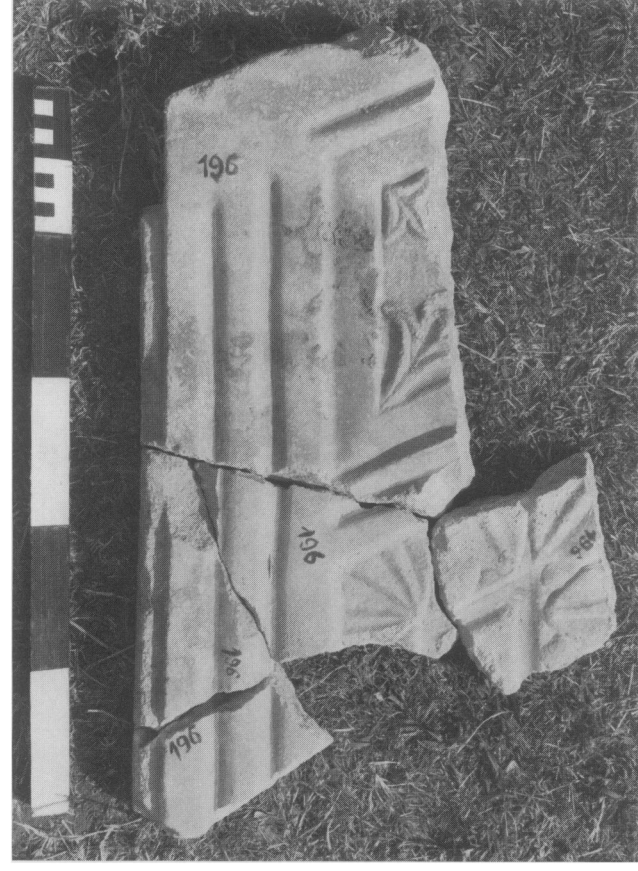
38.

Fragments of Two-zoned Capitals from Basilica Complex



39.

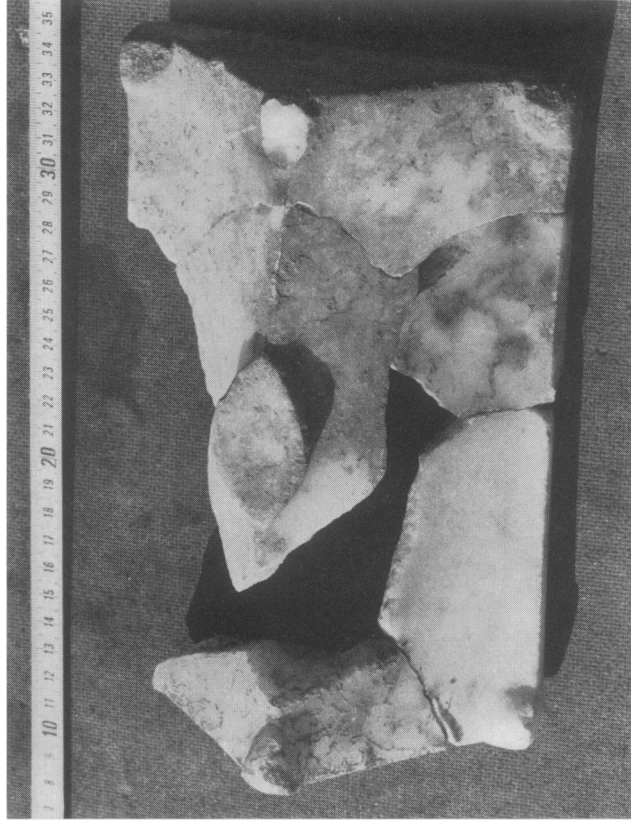
Fragments of Parapet of Ambo from Basilica Complex



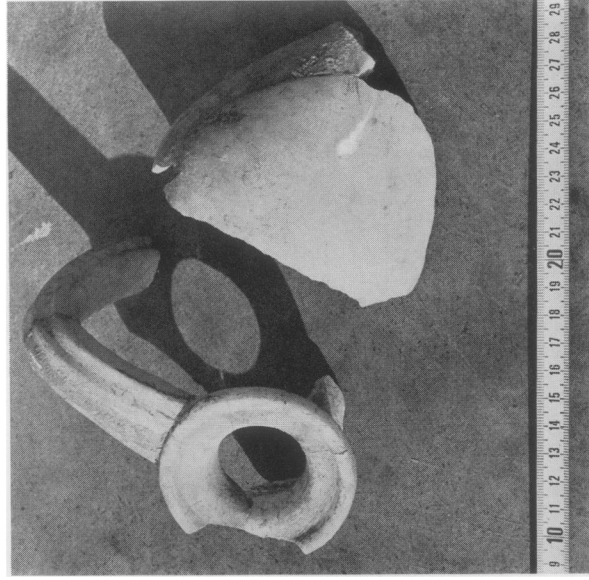
40.



41. Fragment of Parapet of Ambo from Basilica Complex



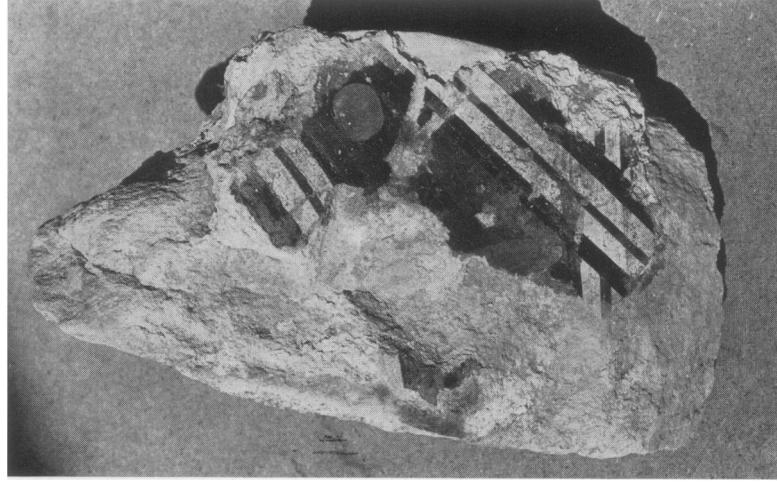
42. Reliquary Lid found in Diaconicon of Basilica



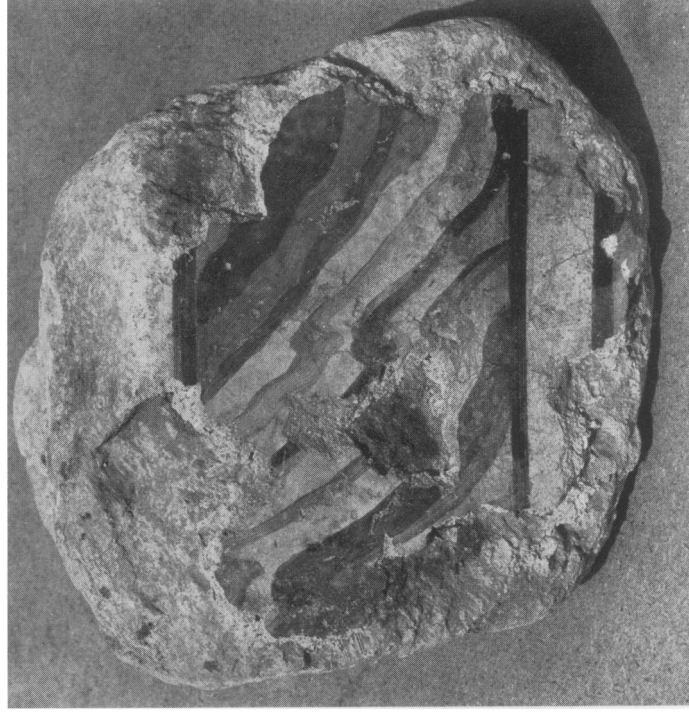
43. Fragments of Alabaster Vase found in Diaconicon of Basilica



44. Relief from Fountain at Northwest Corner of Basilica



45.



46.

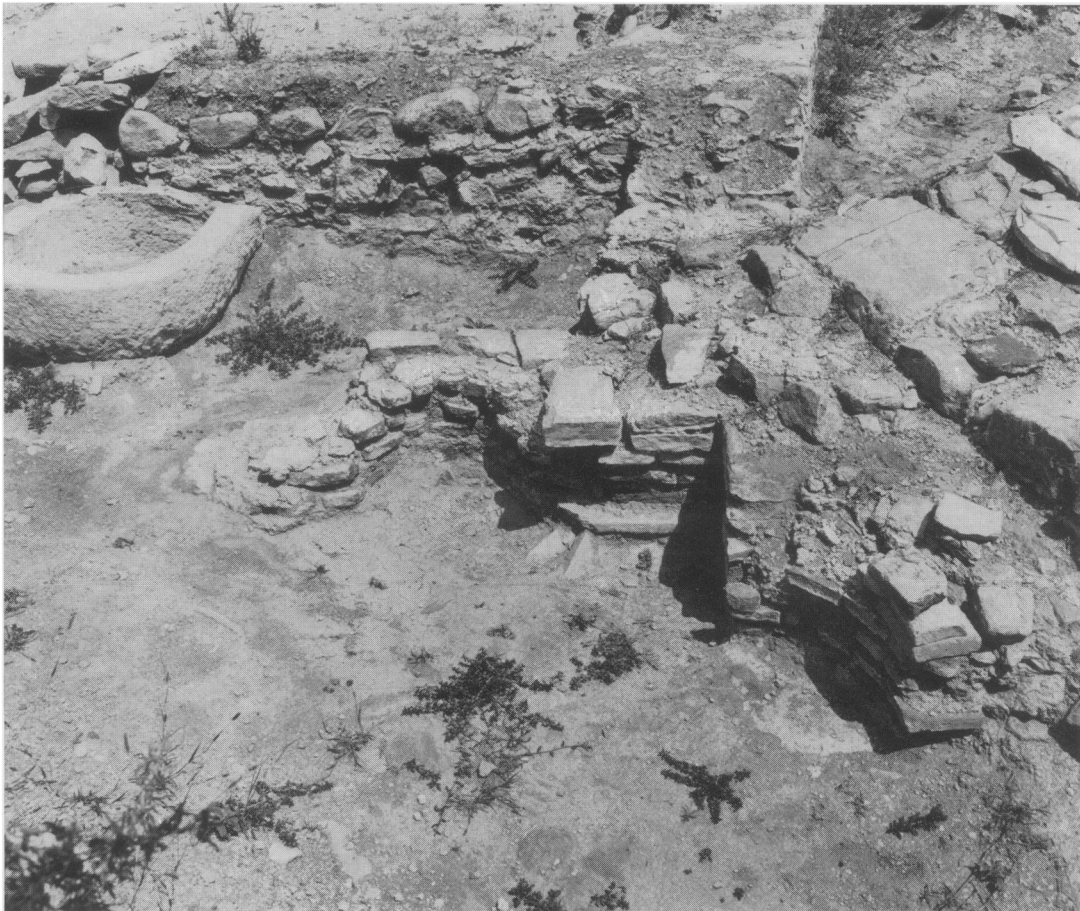
Basilica. Fragments of Fresco Decoration



47.



48. Cistern, looking North



49. Remains of Fountain between Cistern and Basilica



50.

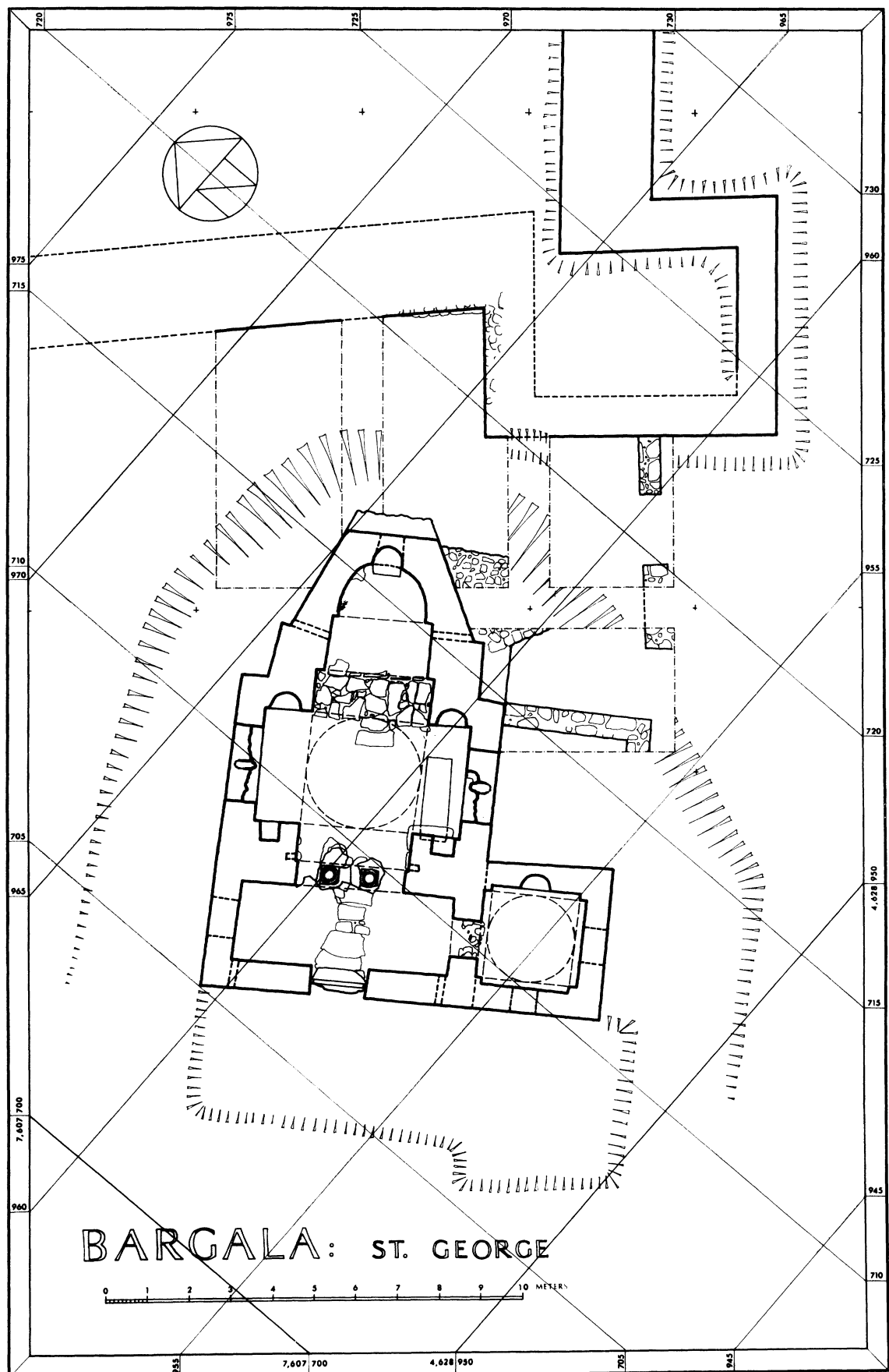


51.

Štip, National Museum. Gold Ring



52. Bargala, St. George's Church, Exterior from West



53. Plan of St. George's Church and Southeast Corner of Fortress



54. St. George's, Exterior from Southeast



55. Burials to Southeast of St. George's



56. Looking Northwest



57. Looking Southwest
St. George's, Interior



58. Looking West



St. George's, Interior

59. Looking East



60. St. George's, Interior. Fresco of Christ Antiphonetes



61. Bema. Saints Gregory Thaumaturgos and Hermolaos



62. North Wall. Entry into Jerusalem, detail

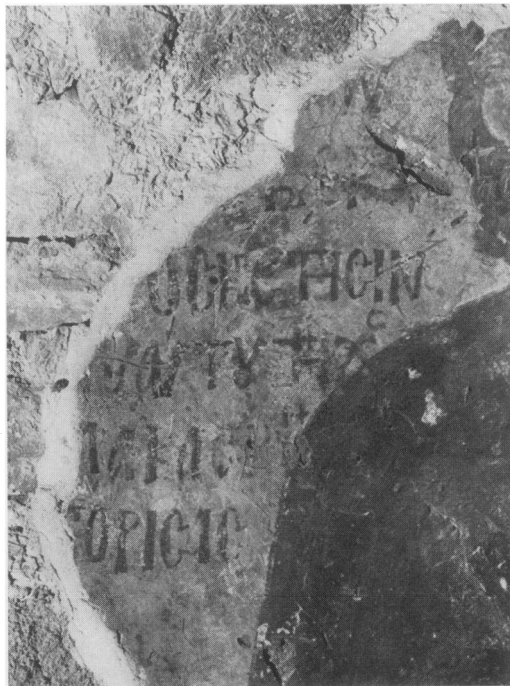
St. George's, Interior



63. St. George's, Narthex, West Wall, Portrait of Founder and Family



64. Detail, Bust of Founder



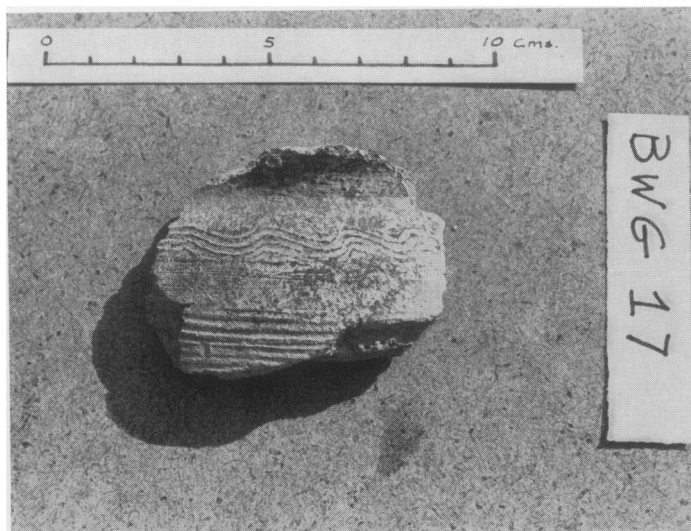
65. Detail, Inscription

St. George's, Narthex, West Wall. Portrait of Founder and Family



67.

Fragments of Roman Sculpture

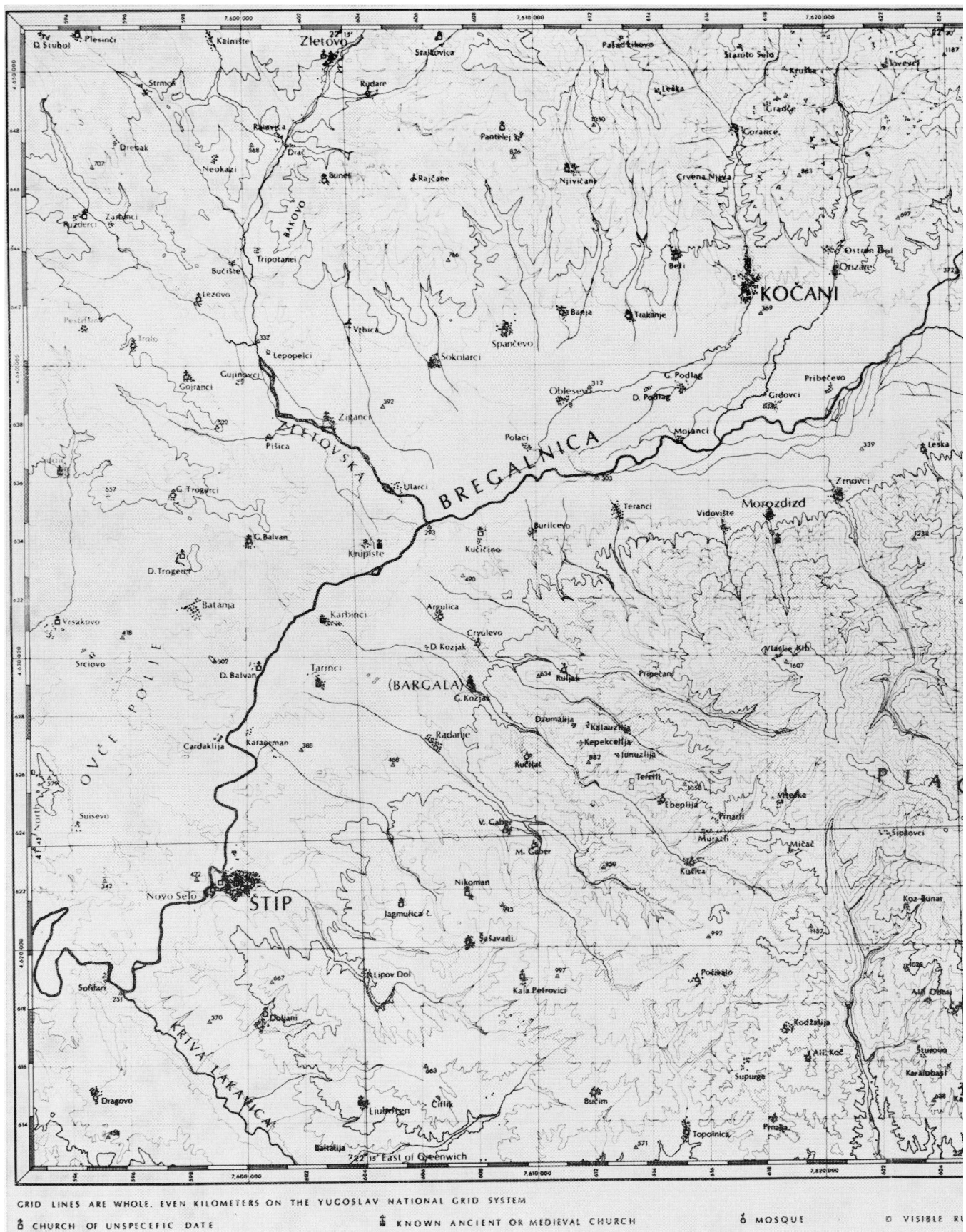


68. Fragment from West Gate

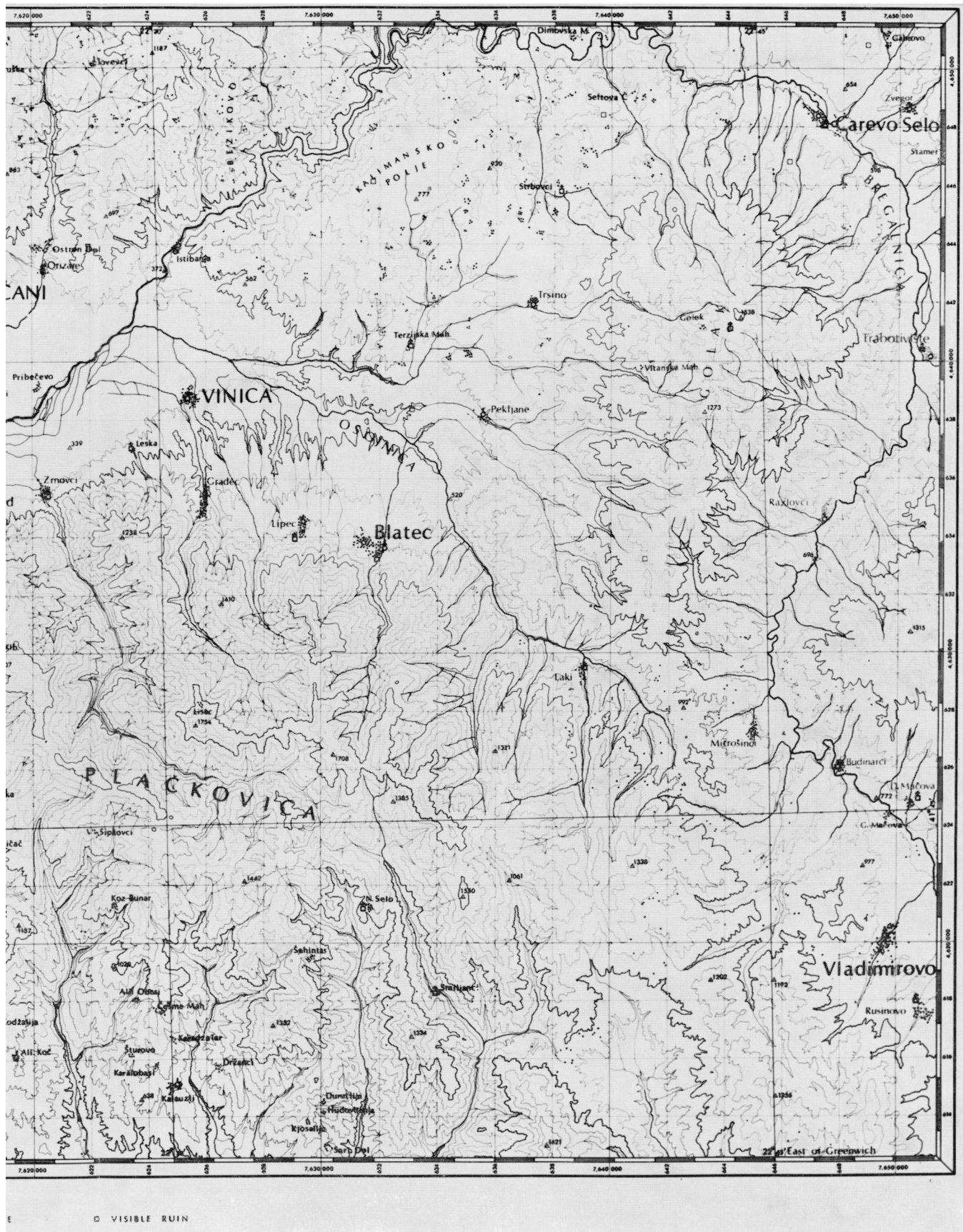


69. Fragments from Northeast Area

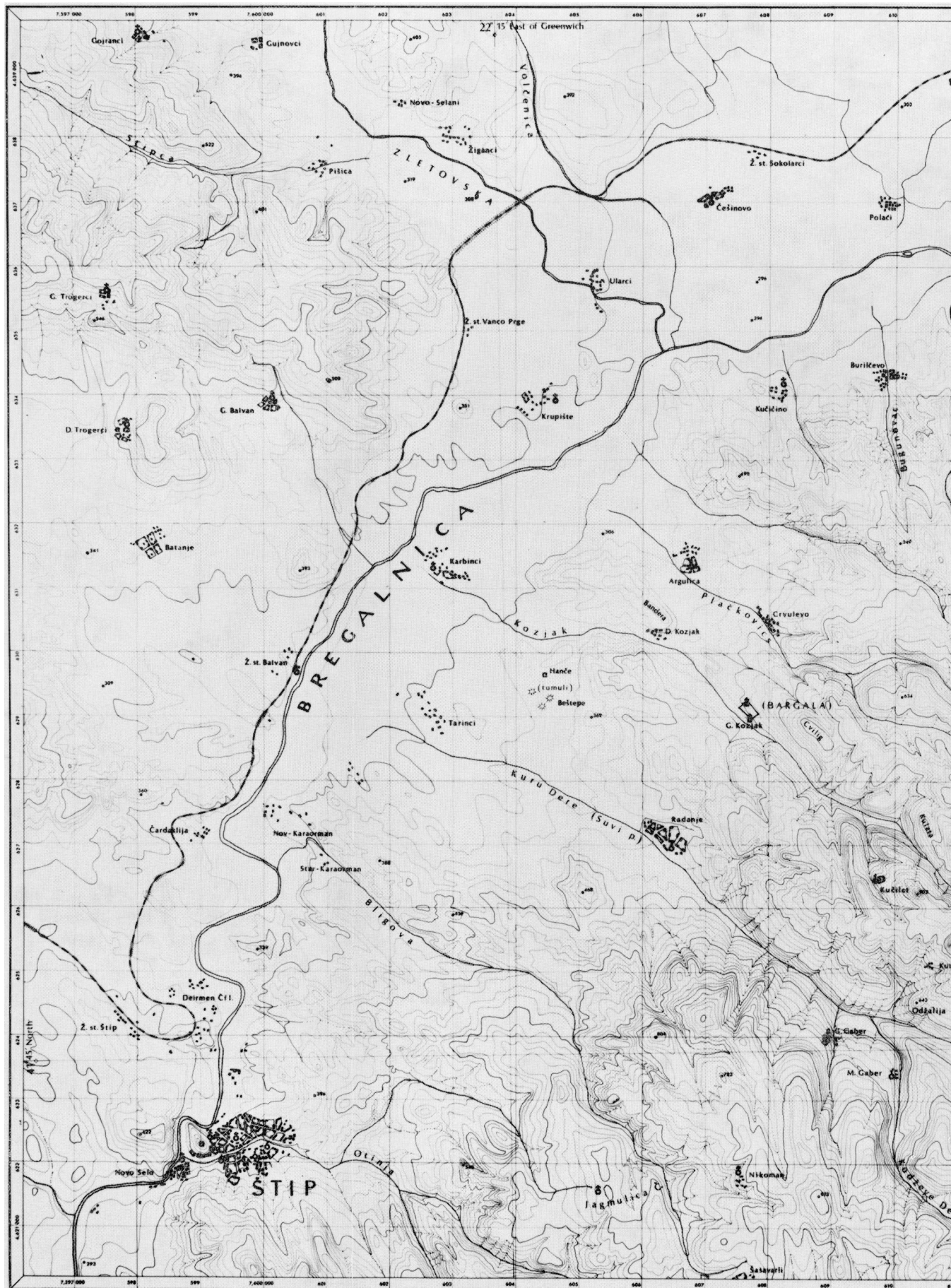
Pottery



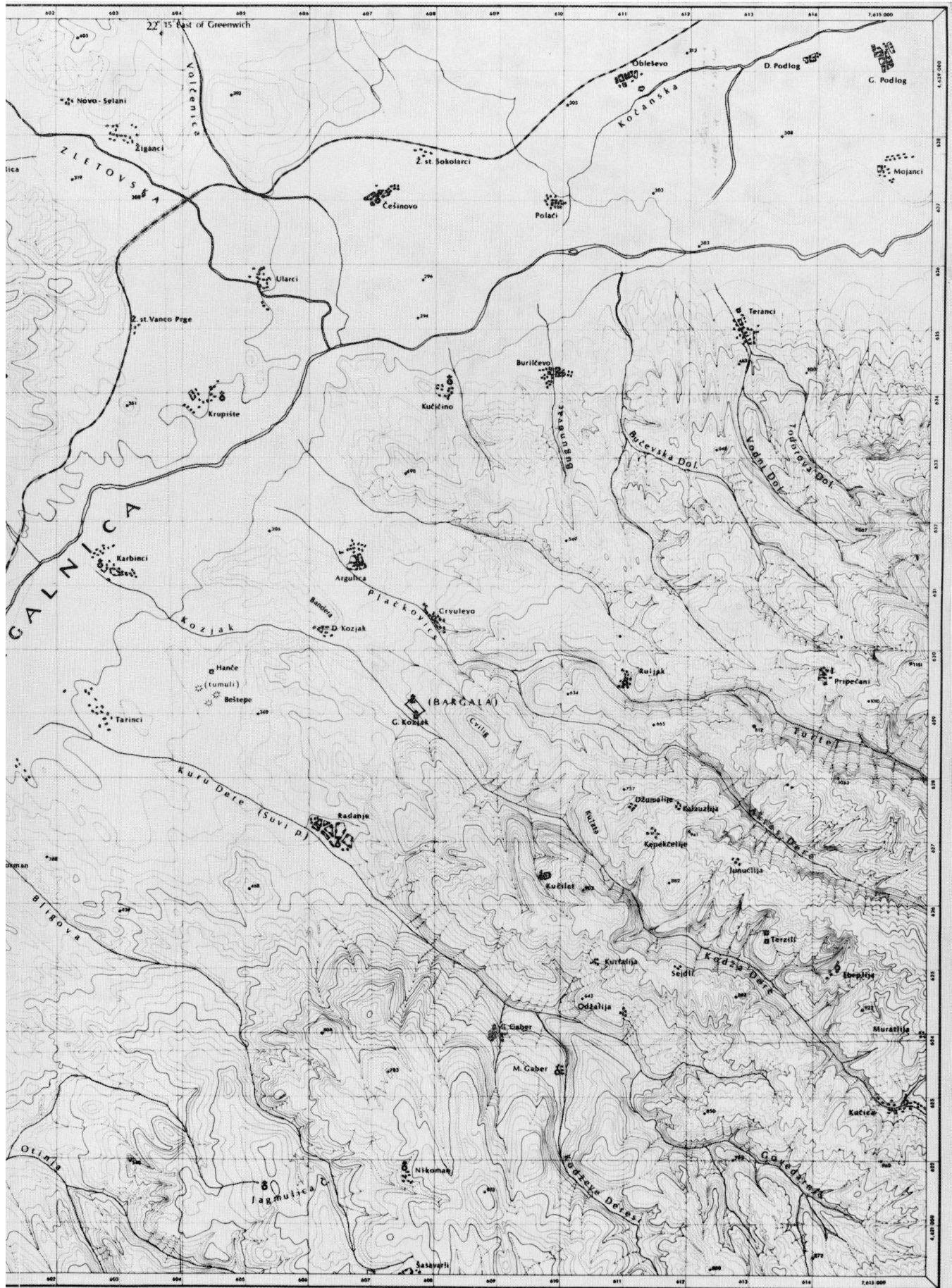
A. Map of Bregalnica V.



Map of Bregalnica Valley



B. Bregalnica Valley near Štip



B. Bregalnica Valley near Štip